75 Years of Community Service to Canada:

Canadian Council on Social Development 1920-1995

by Dr. Richard Splane

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Table of Contents

Foreword vii

Prologue by Dr. James Struthers ix

Introduction xiii

One
The Charlotte Whitton Era, 1920-1941 1
The Council's lineage: CCCW or SSCC? 1
Whitton's credentials 4
Whitton's social philosophy 4
Whitton's positive contributions 5
Whitton's departure 7

Two
George Davidson and Wartime Planning for Postwar Canada 9
Davidson's strategies 10
Whitton vs. Marsh, Heagerty, Cassidy and Davidson 12
Davidson's parting counsel 15
The Cassidy endorsement 16
The Council's wartime contributions 17
Acting directors before and after Davidson: Parker and Lea 18

Three
Postwar Growth and Influence: The Davis Years, 1946-1963 19
The setting of the times 20
The hallmarks of Davis's tenure 21
Staff and program extensions 22
The Council as educator 23
Education and the personnel shortage 24
The international dimension 25
Involving the corporate sector 26

Strategies for effective advocacy 28
Lobbying for unemployment assistance: the prelude to CAP 29
Debating medicare 30
Social policy and taxation 31
The Davis years in review 33

Four
Transformation and Transition:
The Baetz Years, 1963-1977 35
A director for two troubled decades 37
New realities, new strategies 38
Transformation: CWC becomes CCSD 38
Transition 41
Income security in the Baetz years 42
Social services during the Baetz years 46
Staff in the Baetz years 49
The Baetz years in review 49

Five
Interregnum, Then Turbulence 51
Agnes Benidickson 51
A time of turbulence: Pierre Bourdon, 1978-1980 53

Six
Rebuilding and Redirection:
Terrance M. Hunsley, 1980-1990 59
Pre-planning for the Eighties 61
The social policy setting: trends and responses 63
Running the Council in the Eighties 68
The struggle to maintain universality 74
The Council's collaborative work 74
Constitutional and international issues 76
The Meech Lake Accord 78
The Free Trade Agreement 79
Groups and persons with special needs 82
Delivery of health and social services 83
The law and social development 83
Employment, income security and social services 84
The Hunsley years in review 86

Seven
Into the Nineties: Valerie Sims, 1990-1991 89
Valerie Sims 91
Financial and staffing issues 91
The Mission Statement 92
National Consortium of Voluntary Social Planning Organizations . 93
The well-being of Aboriginal children 93
The impact of the 1991 federal budget 94
Relations with federal officials 95

Eight
Patrick Johnston, 1991-1994 101
Financial issues 102
The *PARD Report* 103
The Bouchard offer 104
The sale of the Council's properties 108
The Charlottetown Accord and the Social Charter 109
Quebec: residual issues 110
Concerns about FTA, NAFTA and the GST 111
Other activities: Self-help 111
The Montreal office 113
Johnston's departure 114
The resignation of the Quebec members of the Board 114

Nine
David Ross: 1994- 117
Administrative concerns 118
The social service administrators conferences 119
Communications 120
Research and policy analysis 121
Promoting sound social policy 122
Administration: turn of the tide 126
Policy issues raised by the 1995 federal budget 127
1995 and beyond: change and continuity 131

Ten
New President, New Challenges 135
The Quebec sovereignty issue 137
The Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST) 137
The setting for the Roundtables 140
Positive indicators in the provincial meetings 141
The findings of the Roundtables 142
Beyond the Roundtables 145

Eleven
Reflective Postscripts 147
The Board of Governors 147
Presidents 150
Socio-political factors 151
International factors 154
The Council and women 155
Financing the Council 157
Responding to social change 159

Twelve
Epilogue by Dr. Ralph Garber 161

Endnotes 167

Appendix 1A 173
Appendix 1B 176
Appendix 1C 177

Appendix 2 179

Appendix 3 181

Appendix 4 183

Appendix 5 185

Foreword

The Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD) is very pleased to present this concise history of our organization. It was written by Dr. Richard Splane—an individual who has played a crucial part not only in the Council's history, but in Canadian history through his direct and formidable role over many years in the development of social policies and programs.

The CCSD is very grateful to Dr. Splane for committing the Council's unique history to paper—just as we have been appreciative of his many contributions on the CCSD's behalf in a wide variety of different capacities. The hundreds of people who have worked for the Council over 75 years, and the many others who have benefited from its work, have always recognized that this particular organization holds a special place in Canada's social history. Thanks to Dr. Splane's latest contribution, we have a fine record of our accomplishments and the people who made them possible.

A special note of thanks for this publication also goes to Agnes Benidickson, whose generous support made this work possible. Mrs. Benidickson is one of the people who has played an important role in the CCSD's history, contributing both her time and her resources.

Dr. Splane has written a succinct, yet complete record of the growth and maturation of one of Canada's oldest social policy organizations. But it is more than that. Dr. Splane's work charts the major developments over 75 years of Canadian social policies and programs. By reviewing those developments—the many struggles, the important achievements, and some of the disappointments —Canadians now have an important signpost for future social policy progress. With careful study we can learn from our shared history, gain wisdom and insight from our successes and failures, and move forward with greater purpose and a clearer vision.

Charles Birchall
CCSD President

Prologue

Creating awareness of common human needs is the first building block of social policy. In Canada, this task has most often been confronted outside government rather than within it. Child neglect; slum housing; maternal mortality; the poverty of widowhood, single motherhood and old age; the devastation wrought by unemployment, sickness and disability upon family life—these are all examples of social needs first brought to public attention by individuals working in Canada's voluntary, private welfare agencies. Through a process that began in towns and cities in the second half of the 19th century, activists and reformers broadened the scope of "social" in an increasingly interdependent society to embrace the idea of a Canadian community. From this effort and vision 75 years ago emerged Canada's first national social welfare organization, the Canadian Council on Child Welfare, the forerunner of today's Canadian Council on Social Development.

In a nation divided by differences of region, religion, language, ethnicity and class, building a sense of national social obligation and responsibility has not been easy. Yet it is vital to the maintenance of our society. As we near the end of this century, social entitlements to decent national standards of health care, unemployment insurance and income security in old age constitute three of the most crucial pillars of a sense of Canadian community. In spite of an increasingly interdependent global economy, the boundaries of nation still constitute what author Michael Ignatieff calls our "terminal community." Beyond the obligations we owe to one another by our shared identity as citizens of a nation-state, our ties of social responsibility and willingness to respond to the "needs of strangers" remain tenuous at best.

Within this context, an appreciation of the previous work and future potential of organizations such as the Canadian Council on Social Development is both timely and critical. As Richard Splane shows in this concise, clear-sighted overview of the CCSD's first 75

years, the creation of social policy is by no means an automatic response of an autonomous, rational state to the problems thrown up by urbanizing, industrializing society. Rather, it emerges out of a complex and often contradictory interplay of bureaucratic and societal forces filtered through the legacy and consequences of previous decisions, institutional loyalties and individual personalities of all those organizations and individuals involved in social politics. In this milieu, the Canadian Council on Social Development and its predecessors have been key players. From the prodigious lobbying and organizational energy of Charlotte Whitton in the field of child welfare, to the timely leadership of George Davidson and Dick Davis in the building of the post-Second World War welfare state, to the work of its more recent directors in the inconclusive debates over income security reform in the past two decades, the CCSD has helped to shape national social policy in at least three ways.

First, as Canada's foremost social welfare organization it has helped to define and publicize the *national* agenda for social policy. While the federal government must provide the fiscal resources and national leadership necessary to put social policy into action, the CCSD has helped to pave the way by mobilizing the energy and knowledge of those working in the voluntary sector to push for much-needed national initiatives. Second, as a site for professional training and independent social policy research, the CCSD has enabled successive generations of social welfare activists to develop the skills, experience and knowledge that is critical for effective social advocacy within or outside of government. Finally, the CCSD has been a meeting ground where Canadians from diverse communities could discover the goals they shared in common in building a sense of national community through social policy.

As Canadian society moves closer to the 21st century, there is no sign that these vital roles of the CCSD will diminish. In an era when national standards of Canadian social policy are eroding, and stigmatizing of the "undeserving poor" is rising, it is increasingly clear that a previous generation's "war on poverty" is being

transformed into a "war on the poor." Not since the "Hungry Thirties" has the need for vigorous national leadership in the field of Canadian social politics loomed so large. Recalling the CCSD's role in the creation of our welfare state can serve as a guide and, hopefully, as an inspiration to all those anxious to forestall the unravelling of our social rights as Canadians.

James Struthers
Professor of History
Trent University

Introduction

The Canadian Council on Social Development, the CCSD, traces its lineage through three predecessor councils: the Canadian Welfare Council (the CWC, 1935-1968), the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare (the CCCFW, 1930-1935) and the Canadian Council on Child Welfare (the CCCW), which came into being in 1920.[1] Throughout this time, as these names indicate, the purposes of the organization changed, from a focus on children to the well-being of families, then to social welfare more broadly defined, and finally to the expressive and open-ended term with which the Council is now identified: *social development*. Although differences in the objectives, roles and functions of the organization over the course of its history are thus manifest, unbroken threads of common purpose as a human service association make it appropriate to refer to the agency at any time in its history as *the Council*. Its record of community service spans well over half of Canada's life as a nation.

The 75 years from 1920 to 1995 have been among the most turbulent in world history, and global trends and events have been reflected in manifold changes in Canadian society. Social and economic statistics for 1920 and 1995 and, say, 20-year intervals between those years, reveal dramatic transformations. Many organizations and associations created to meet the human service needs of Canadians in one period proved unsuited to the next. The Council had to adapt, with subsequent name changes, as new social environments emerged. Although the Council has retained its present name since the end of the 1960s, and predictably will do so indefinitely, it has had to meet crises and challenges no less threatening to its real and perceived relevance than had earlier forms of the Council in the periods of Depression, war, reconstruction and postwar expansion. What is remarkable and encouraging is that in 1995 the Council has cleared a series of formidable obstacles and is now functioning strongly in the continued execution of its declared mission.

Earlier drafts of this book bore the title "A Short History of the Canadian Council on Social Development." In terms of the scope and depth it suggests, that tentative title remains appropriate. A far longer book would be required to do justice to the extensive documentation held by the Public Archives of Canada and to the recorded and as yet unrecorded testimony of the legion of Canadians who, in a variety of roles, have contributed to and benefited from the wide-ranging work of the Council. This concise book—a harbinger, perhaps, of a definitive volume for the end of the century—seeks to be comprehensive enough to serve a contemporary readership which includes the public at large, the CCSD's membership, its Board of Governors, its staff (both professional and administrative), its funding bodies and the organizations with which it collaborates in pursuing its social policy goals. All may benefit from knowing the range, depth and quality of the accumulated knowledge and experience that today's Council brings to its daily work.

The following chronicle identifies segments in the Council's history by the tenures of its various executive directors. This is not to imply that the affairs of the Council have been dominated by its executive directors, though at times that has been the case. What is of greater significance is that the Council has been able to attract a high calibre of Canadians to its Board of Governors, its committees and its general membership. Those bodies have ultimately determined the Council's broad policy positions. The Council has also been able to secure highly competent administrative staff and gifted professionals. It is, nonetheless, the executive director who sets the style and tone of the Council's work, recruits and directs its staff, provides internal leadership, serves as executive secretary to the Board of Governors, and most frequently represents the Council in public. Accordingly, this book is largely organized around the respective tenures of these executive directors, including four who served in an interim or acting capacity. Eleven in all, they and their terms of office are listed in Appendix 3.

This book has emerged from my close connections with the Council since the late 1940s. I first sought guidance from it while serving in a child welfare agency. For 20 years as a public official in the Department of National Health and Welfare, I was in frequent and creative contact with the Council's professional and administrative staff, its successive executive directors, members of its Board of Governors and several of its presidents. This was especially the case during the 1960s when my involvement in the development of federal social programs, notably the Canada Assistance Plan and the National Welfare Grants program, called for and received close consultation between the department and the Council. Later, while serving as a professor of social policy and a representative of a number of professional and social service agencies, comparable associations continued and, from 1982 to 1993, I served on the Board of Governors of the Council and as vice president for British Columbia and the Yukon.

It was from this background of interest in and association with the Council that this book was generated. And it was through many contacts with persons knowledgeable about the history of the Council that I collected much of the data presented. Those who responded to my queries about aspects of the Council's history or who read sections of the various drafts of the book are too numerous to name and some requested anonymity. Though sadly insufficient, my deep appreciation to all the anonymous contributors is herewith recorded.

Richard Splane
Vancouver, 1995

One

The Charlotte Whitton Era 1920-1941

The founding year of the Council was 1920, when the Canadian Council on Child Welfare (CCCW) came into being, with Charlotte Whitton as its honorary secretary. During the next 20 years, Miss Whitton became the dominant figure in developing the CCCW and its successors, the CCCFW and CWC, as each became the leading national social policy agency in its field.

The Council's lineage: CCCW or SSCC?

If Charlotte Whitton had not decided to accept the position of executive director of the CCCW in the mid-1920s and give it prominence through her flair for public relations, the Social Service Council of Canada might have been considered the forerunner of today's Council.[2] That agency had been founded in 1907 primarily as a collaboration of the Protestant churches. Later it included groups concerned with moral issues and farm and labour organiza-

tions. The formation of such a Council indicated a recognition that social issues, problems and needs across Canada required the attention both of the national government and a new type of non-governmental organization committed to community development, with "community" defined as the country as a whole rather than a collection of individual provinces.

That there were concerns about social issues with national dimensions in the first decade of the 20th century is not surprising. In the 19th century, broad social issues had taken on new significance in all of the provinces, especially Ontario. Indeed, the measures taken to deal with social problems in Ontario were described by one respected political scientist as constituting "the origin of the welfare state in Canada,"[3] implying that, as promising as some of Ontario's programs were, major social issues would ultimately have to be dealt with by the Canadian state as a single entity. Another reason for the national perspective on social issues was that the rapid economic growth in the early 1900s brought with it the recognition that if the Laurier dream of the 20th century in Canada were to be realized, the nation would have to deal with the social consequences of its economic policies. Shocking revelations about the poor health of Canadians during the manpower mobilization for the First World War, the wartime casualties, a devastating epidemic of Spanish flu and alarmingly high rates of maternal and infant mortality all revealed grave defects and limitations in the country's health and social programs. Indeed, they forced the federal government to adopt remedial measures, including the establishment of a Department of Health. Because of the importance of children for the future of a country that had lost so much of its adult manpower during the war, a Child Hygiene Division was created within the department.

Charlotte Whitton

Both within and beyond the Social Service Council of Canada, many believed that the needs of children required a government body with more than a focus on health. Accordingly, strong but unavailing pressure was exerted on the federal government to establish a Canadian equivalent of the Children's Bureau in the United States, which dealt with the entire spectrum of children's needs. Instead, the department agreed to convene a Child Welfare Conference and subsequently to give modest financial support to the Canadian Council on Child Welfare, which came into being as a result of the Conference's deliberations. Charlotte Whitton was to claim over the years that the Council had preeminent status, "having been founded in 1920 as the result of a National Conference of Child Welfare Workers, convened by... the Dominion Department of Health."[4]

During its first five years, the CCCW could claim some substantial accomplishments. It served as a clearinghouse on child welfare and participated in the Canadian Conferences on Child Welfare. In 1924, it began publishing *Canadian Child Welfare News*, a journal that brought together information from across Canada as well as news about child welfare developments in the United States and the United Kingdom and at the League of Nations. It also provided a source of information about developments within the Council itself. In its February 1926 issue, it announced that Miss Charlotte Whitton "had accepted the Executive Secretaryship of the Council."

Whitton was able to accept this full-time position because the federal government had increased its annual grant from $1,000 to $5,000, and the Council began to raise a comparable amount from private sources. With her appointment, the Council's dramatic growth and development began in earnest. Its expanded range of activities and services, its two transformations into organizations with larger mandates and its ever-growing national repute are all largely attributable to the dynamism of its first head (at times referred to as executive secretary and at others as executive director).

Whitton's credentials

By the time she assumed her full-time work with the Council, Charlotte Whitton was exceptionally well equipped for the leadership roles she so confidently assumed. As a young person she had proved herself to be a brilliant student in the school systems of Renfrew, Ontario, and in wartime studies at Queen's University in English, history and philosophy. She had been recruited on graduation to the Social Service Council of Canada, where for four years she had a variety of responsibilities and was initiated into the field of social welfare. Her four years there, and the position she subsequently held as a secretary to a member of Parliament who became the Dominion Minister of Trade and Commerce, gave her a very wide range of contacts and, with them, avenues for testing her abilities. She had opportunities to meet and be accepted as a professional colleague by leading social welfare figures in the United States, Britain and Europe. She became the Canadian representative on the League of Nations Commission on Social Questions and served as an assessor on one of the League's committees on child welfare.

In these various roles, Whitton gained a commanding knowledge of the nature of social welfare organizations, of the use of social survey techniques, and of social welfare legislation in general. She also developed her writing skills and became an effective, often impassioned, speaker.

Whitton's social philosophy

In the years prior to assuming her executive position with CCCW, Whitton formulated and began to express the views on social issues that she would retain for the rest of her life.[5] Her biographers, P. T. Rooke and R. L. Schnell, have referred to her views as "singular, not easily placed into opposing ideological camps of left and right."[6] The examples they cite, however, suggest that on the most critical social issues of the time she was well to the right. They label her views on non-British immigration, for example, as "representing conservative class interest"[7] and voicing "a

Canadian version of scientific racism," holding that "certain races possess a monopoly of desirable characteristics" and that "racial differences being caused by heredity are resistant to any modification."[8] Similarly, they note that "like her 19th-century predecessors, she systematically divided the recipients of relief into the categories of the worthy and unworthy poor" and accepted the "version of 'less eligibility' that had framed the English Poor Law,"[9] a repressive credo designed to ensure that public assistance granted to an able-bodied unemployed person would always be "less eligible" than or, in modern language, "inferior to" that of the lowest-paid, self-supporting worker. Not surprisingly, her biographers refer to some of her positions as "extraordinarily callous" and "increasingly at odds with the growing sensitivity [to the plight of the poor] expressed by other prominent Canadians."[10] Understandably, they chose as the title for their book, *No Bleeding Heart: Charlotte Whitton, a Feminist on the Right.*

Whitton's social philosophy is especially important because her position in the Council was dominant and essentially unmonitored. She had incredible vigour and took on consulting and advisory roles extending beyond her work for the Council, making it difficult for either Whitton herself or the public to distinguish between her many roles.[11] The Council and Whitton were seen for too long as indivisible. Ultimately, that state of affairs became unacceptable to key figures on the Council's Board of Governors.

Whitton's positive contributions

Charlotte Whitton's positive contributions to the Council must not be underrated, however. During her tenure, it became a viable organization and achieved a high national profile. By the time she left at the end of 1941, it had a budget of $90,000, a small but loyal membership across Canada, an increasingly well-informed Board of Governors, a "French-speaking services division" and eight program divisions dealing with maternal and child hygiene, child care and protection, family welfare, community organization, leisure time activities, delinquency services and public welfare. The

Council had also appointed regional advisory committees of prominent citizens in the Maritime provinces, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairie provinces and British Columbia. And, it had secured the voluntary services of seven honorary counsel, all leading figures in the legal profession, including two judges and one senator.

Finally, the Council had a small staff of highly competent professionals, one with a degree in medicine and four with degrees in social work who served as "executive assistants" to the executive director. They worked with a large corps of volunteers, among whom were those who contributed to the Council's publications, including the journal *Canadian Welfare*. Whitton stated with satisfaction that *Canadian Welfare* (successor to the *Canadian Child Welfare News*) "never paid an editor nor a contributor." Rather, "it is issued as the avocation of the staff members entrusted with the Council's general administration; it is supervised by competent Canadian writers and journalists who give their services; its articles are written by burdened and busy workers in welfare and related fields, because they feel that it is their own."

The Council's initiatives during the Whitton era included its strong support for the Community Chest Movement, which was later to become a division of the Council. Every year *Canadian Welfare* published a special message from the Governor General to all the Community Chests across Canada; on occasion, the Prime Minister added his endorsement.

Under Whitton's direction, the Council's influence on both provincial and federal public programs was also strong throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Federally, it helped establish the first federal-provincial shared-cost program, the *Old Age Pension Act* of 1927, and it collaborated with other agencies in promoting the 1929 revisions to the *Juvenile Delinquents Act* of 1908. Through surveys, publications and consultations, the Council continually advocated improved child welfare legislation, the development of mothers allowance programs and the strengthening of welfare program administration in the provinces.

During the Depression of the 1930s, the Council, with Whitton's constant leadership, led efforts to devise means to meet the country's desperate social welfare needs. It undertook some 30 surveys of provincial and local welfare services, held conferences to pool ideas for tackling relief problems, conducted institutes to train public welfare workers, and acted as advisor to the federal and provincial governments on macro measures, including unemployment insurance, residence laws and policies relating to migrants.

Whitton's departure

Toward the end of the 1930s, Whitton's relations with the Council's Board of Governors became increasingly troubled. She had many unswerving supporters on the Board who continually tried to meet her constant demands for more resources and uncritical endorsement. But, as Rooke and Schnell note, "the move to recruit more businessmen had substantially shifted power from the old coalition of social workers and public spirited women such as Ella Thorburn, to men such as Philip Fisher and C. S. Macdonald, who were less sympathetic to Whitton's style of leadership."[12] The discord surfaced in 1939 when, exhausted by overwork, Whitton sought unpaid temporary leave. She frequently talked of resigning, but was urged to stay on to carry the professional aspects of the work, while turning over administrative duties to a competent manager. She could not agree to this proposal, however, contending that the executive, professional and managerial responsibilities were indivisible.[13]

Her relationship with the Board remained strained through 1940 and 1941. In January 1942, in *Canadian Welfare*, the Board of Governors announced Whitton's resignation "with sincerest regret," praising her "years of distinguished service and strenuous effort" and her "brilliant leadership." In the same issue, over her strong "CW" signature, Whitton wrote a gracious and eloquent response. At the time, there was justifiable concern that she would leave the Council in anger, taking loyal supporters with her and weakening the Council in the process. But that did not happen. In

succeeding years, she contributed to the work of the Council in a number of ways that indicated either that she bore no rancour or was able to submerge any bitterness she may initially have felt.

Charlotte Whitton's later activities as a writer, lecturer, social investigator and politician made hers a household name in Canada that endured long after her death in 1975. As the colourful and controversial mayor of Ottawa, she had the added distinction of being Canada's first woman mayor.

Two

George Davidson and Wartime Planning for Postwar Canada

The next period in the Council's history is also identified with an exceptionally able and well-prepared executive director, George F. Davidson. It is hard to conceive of a person better qualified to lead the Council, although Davidson's tenure was relatively brief, from March 1942 to the end of December 1944.

George Davidson came to the Council with a background that included brilliant academic work at the University of British Columbia and Harvard, European travel, senior positions in the Government of British Columbia and experience in non-governmental agencies. He had been Superintendent of Welfare and of Neglected Children in B.C. and later was the province's Director of Social Welfare. He worked in the voluntary sector as executive director of the Vancouver Council of Social Agencies and the Vancouver Welfare Federation. Thus, he had experience in virtually

every aspect of social welfare and this, combined with his interpersonal skills, gave him the ability to establish constructive dialogues with politicians and planners on the complex issues of the day.

Davidson's strategies

When Davidson arrived in Ottawa, policy-makers and politicians were seriously thinking about the economic and social policies Canada needed for its postwar future. By 1942 Canada's record of remarkable wartime achievements, both at home and abroad, gave its people and its government the confidence to start planning for the creation of a Canada which would take charge of its destiny rather than succumbing, as it had in the 1930s, to the supposed imperatives of *laissez faire* economics.

The Council during Charlotte Whitton's tenure can be credited with some work in formulating policies for Canada's reconstruction and longer-term social progress. But, given her social philosophy, Whitton could not have given support to the emerging proposals for comprehensive social security. In fact, she had disdained such measures during the 1930s in reports to Prime Minister R. B. Bennett and to the National Employment Commission appointed by Prime Minister MacKenzie King.

George Davidson

George Davidson, by contrast, was able to move easily into the intellectual environment of wartime Ottawa, where federal authorities were engaged in unprecedented planning. Important work had been proceeding for years within the public service, partly in response to the two Royal Commission reports of the late 1930s and early 1940s: the *Rowell-Sirois Report on Domin-*

ion-Provincial Relations and the *Report of the National Employment Commission*. The government's planning competence and confidence also had been stimulated by the requirements of running the wartime economy and by initiating the new unemployment insurance program.

Recognition of the need for social planning was greatly accelerated worldwide and especially in Canada by the publication in Britain toward the end of 1942 of the report on *Social Insurance and Allied Services*, known as *The Beveridge Report* after Sir William Beveridge, its principal author.[14] This famous report became a statement of faith that countries like Canada could use for developing a range of public policies designed to triumph over what Sir William Beveridge had called the "five giants" impeding the path to reconstruction: Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness.

Davidson was able to inform and educate the membership and the Board of the Council on the significance of the report and on the fast-moving developments affecting social policy, thereby preparing the Council to exercise a positive influence on postwar planning. He did this primarily through articles and editorials in *Canadian Welfare*. The editorial in the December 1942 issue concluded, "We must take a long look forward, and prepare to make our contribution in thought and in action to the plans which Canada must make, and make effective, sooner perhaps than any of us today realize, for the social security of her people in the postwar world." Davidson's editorial the following month, entitled "Wanted: A Beveridge Report for Canada," referred to the great interest Canadians were showing in the report and took this as a sign that it would bring an end to "groping our way blindly, in piecemeal fashion" and cause Canada to "begin to develop plans for a comprehensive social security program that will stand comparison with those that are afoot now in Great Britain, the United States, Australia and New Zealand."

Three months later, *Canadian Welfare* was happy to report that there had been more progress in social policy planning than the Council had thought possible. It welcomed the report of Dr. Leonard Marsh on *Social Security for Canada*[15] and the report of the Heagerty Advisory Committee on Health Insurance and the associated draft of a national health bill.[16] Dr. Davidson wrote incisive articles for *Canadian Welfare* on each of them.

Davidson also led the movement for children's allowances as part of the proposed social security system. In an editorial entitled "Children's Allowances, Pro or Con," he wrote that the proposal being considered, that of establishing a family allowances program as the first step to implementing the Marsh recommendations, "seems to have found the Canadian public, including social workers and those most closely in touch with social agency programs, in a singularly indecisive frame of mind." Davidson contended, "We cannot afford to remain any longer uninformed and opinionless about the merits of a measure which, if put into effect, will have such a tremendous effect on Canadian social life and attitudes, to say nothing of its impact on existing welfare programs."

Whitton vs. Marsh, Heagerty, Cassidy and Davidson

By December 1943, an intense debate was emerging on social policy issues. In addition to the Heagerty and Marsh reports, Harry Cassidy had published *Social Security and Reconstruction in Canada*[17] and Charlotte Whitton had written, at the request of John Bracken, head of the Progressive Conservative Party, a book entitled *The Dawn of Ampler Life*,[18] which challenged the approach taken by Heagerty, Marsh and Cassidy, and by George Davidson as well.

It is worth recording the credentials of these policy advocates who were seeking to inform and influence the Canadian public.

Dr. J. J. Heagerty was a public health physician in the federal Department of Pensions and National Health. As Director of Public Health Services, he had become Canada's best informed authority on comprehensive health insurance. He was also the author of the draft health insurance bill which would have implemented the recommendations of his voluminous report had the federal and provincial governments been capable of agreeing on such a progressive measure. Heagerty was a prototypic "reformist bureaucrat" who seized the opportunity to play a major role in the detailed development of innovative public policy.

Dr. Leonard Marsh wrote his historic report while serving as a research advisor to the Parliamentary Committee on Reconstruction. His earlier work in Canada at McGill University and previously in England, where he had worked with William Beveridge, gave him an ideal background for the task. He wrote the report in a very short time with the acknowledged assistance of, among others, Bessie Touzel of the Toronto Welfare Council, Stuart Jaffary of the Toronto School of Social Work, and George Davidson. Although Davidson, in writing about the report in *Canadian Welfare*, described it as being "largely the product of a single man's mind," the Council, through Dr. Davidson, had played a part in preparing this remarkable blueprint for Canada's social welfare future.

During the 1930s and early 1940s, Dr. Harry Cassidy, another whose views contrasted with those of Charlotte Whitton, had gained recognition as perhaps Canada's foremost social welfare expert. He had worked in government (British Columbia) and in universities (North Carolina, Rutgers, Berkeley and Toronto), and had carried out major studies in and written extensively on unemployment, housing and labour conditions. In 1943 he brought together his ideas on the direction Canada's social welfare programs should take after the war in *Social Security and Reconstruction in Canada*.

The Council now needed to assess the significance for postwar social policy of this unaccustomed wealth of material. Making the task more complex was the sharp contrast between the views presented by Charlotte Whitton in *The Dawn of Ampler Life* and the social policy thrusts of Heagerty, Marsh and Cassidy.

This collision of views by the country's leading authorities, one of whom was bound to command the special attention of the members of the CWC, threatened to bring the Council's approach to postwar social policy to an impasse. That this didn't occur may be credited largely to Davidson's handling of the problem. The most visible components of his strategy were his article in the January 1944 issue of *Canadian Welfare* and his reply to Whitton's response to it in the following issue. At the beginning of the article, Davidson praised Whitton's "intimate and detailed knowledge of our structure, in almost every hamlet and village of the country as well as in the larger cities and on the provincial and federal levels." And he concluded his commentary by remarking that "whatever the personal preferences of individual readers with regard to specific items in the Whitton or Marsh proposals, the fact remains that Dr. Whitton has performed a valuable public service in placing certain alternatives before the Canadian public so that they may judge for themselves the merits of the respective programs."

Davidson's article was especially important because it clarified for Council members the essential differences between the Marsh and Whitton proposals. Marsh proposed extensive use of social insurance and universally available children's allowances. Whitton advocated reliance on social assistance and social utilities that included a program of medical care instead of health insurance, together with a greatly extended program of child protection and care instead of children's allowances.

Whitton's call for the continued prominence of means-tested social assistance was the principal focus of George Davidson's critique of her proposals. When she sought, in her rejoinder, to cite examples from other countries to bolster the case for social

assistance, Davidson was able to match his command of comparative social welfare programs with hers and reduce her arguments to relative insignificance.

Davidson's parting counsel

During his two-and-a-half years as executive director, Davidson travelled extensively across Canada, maintained the Council's traditional services and gave outstanding leadership on social policy in the postwar era. Except for the important appointment of Nora Lea as his assistant, he hadn't sought either to enlarge the staff or to find temporary replacements for Joseph Laycock, Enid Wyness and Ruth Harvey, three of the Council's four social workers on active service or other war-related leave. In spite of limited available resources, Davidson left "a Council which is stronger than ever in its influence on public affairs, and carries the respect of social workers and Board members generally."[19]

In a valedictory message as he left to become the first Deputy Minister of National Welfare, Davidson refuted the widely held view that the establishment of the Department of National Health and Welfare would reduce or eliminate the need for the Council:

> The Council's role in the next ten years—and after that—can be greater and even more important than it has ever been in the past. More is at stake than ever before. Our public welfare services and expenditures are growing by leaps and bounds to dimensions that we never dreamed of in the 20s. We dreamed of them, it's true, in the early 30s, but when we did, our dreams were fearful nightmares.
>
> Now is the time, with all this great development in social security and in other fields projected for the future, now is the time when all the Council's potential talents for national leadership, sure guidance and sound advice are needed more than ever.

The Cassidy endorsement

A comparable message came from Dr. Cassidy in a public address in May 1945. He discussed the various roles the Council should play in the postwar era, and made specific proposals on how the Council could respond to the opportunities that would be open to it.

Cassidy outlined four roles the Council should seek to perform:

- to provide "the machinery for consultation and cooperative action between those concerned respectively with the public and the private social services;"
- "to coordinate and contribute towards a great deal of activity being carried on by a number of national organizations in welfare or related fields, or with interests in social welfare;"
- "represent organized social work in the international sphere;"
- "to mobilize professional and lay opinion for good social services in Canada."

On this last point, he asserted that "it is simply indispensable that we should have an independent agency concerned with social welfare to promote, to appraise, and to criticize the public social services." In so doing, "We are performing an essential function within a democracy," serving as "the channel through which the conscience of our functional field is expressed."[20]

Cassidy emphasized that the Council must continue to meet the needs of the private agencies and the chests and other councils that looked to it for assistance. And it should also help with community research and consult with various social agencies, he said. Because of its social policy expertise and non-partisan status, he felt the Council was in a good position to continue to be consulted by governments at every level. The Council would thus be able to extend well beyond its traditional work in "child welfare, family welfare, community chests and councils, and public welfare administra-

tion" and devote more effort to delinquency, recreation, vocational rehabilitation, housing and housing policy, and the complex field of social insurance.

Cassidy recognized that for the Council to serve Canada in all of these important ways it must recruit additional competent personnel and greatly increase its budget. He also pointed out that the Council would have to consider both functional and, ultimately, geographic decentralization. He noted that "most people who are associated with welfare programs are not interested so much in social welfare as a whole as they are. . .in some aspect of the field." He recommended that the Council consider developing regional offices or perhaps stimulating the development of "provincial agencies which will affiliate with it and which will perform some functions on the provincial level which the national organization is not in a good position to undertake."[21]

Davidson's and Cassidy's positive predictions concerning the significance of the Council's future roles were to prove valuable in the Council's immediate postwar years and, indeed, through the next half century.

The Council's wartime contributions

As we have seen, through the war years the Council thought through the social policy issues that would face Canada in peacetime. At the same time, however, the Council also dealt with many of the social problems associated with Canada's mobilization for a total war effort.

As early as September 30, 1939, it called a conference to develop plans for voluntary services for the armed forces and assisted in setting up official welfare services, including the Dependants Allowance Board and Dependants Board of Trustees. It helped plan for the reception of 7,000 British guest children and worked with the federal Department of Labour on day nurseries for children of mothers in war work. Its accumulated experience

was extensively called upon to help coordinate civilian wartime welfare services in Canadian communities. To help plan and finance both long-standing and newer social services, the Council in 1942 formally accepted the Central Committee of Community Chests as one of its major divisions. This substantiated the Council's reputation as the "umbrella" organization which could monitor, advise upon, coordinate and plan for virtually all social welfare concerns across the country.

Acting directors before and after Davidson: Parker and Lea

Histories of voluntary agencies tend to concentrate on long-serving leaders and neglect the contributions of those who served on an interim or acting basis. This has been true of the roles played by Mrs. Cameron Parker, who served briefly between Charlotte Whitton and George Davidson, and Nora Lea, who was the acting executive director during the lengthy period between the resignation of George Davidson and the appointment of R. E. G. Davis.

Both of these talented women had been national presidents of the Canadian Association of Social Workers, Mrs. Parker from 1930 to 1934 and Miss Lea from 1938 to 1940. Mrs. Parker provided a reassuring bridge for the social work community from the Charlotte Whitton era to one in which new players and new policies had emerged that were broadening and redefining the roles of social work.

Nora Lea was a highly experienced social worker, having served as assistant executive director with George Davidson. She was well-equipped to carry the work of the Council forward with assurance and good judgment. Her leadership was particularly telling in outlining the crisis of personnel for the social services that had been exposed by wartime demands and the looming needs of postwar Canada.

Three

Postwar Growth and Influence: The Davis Years, 1946-1963

During the tenure of Executive Director R. E. G. Davis (1946-1963), the Council was less dominated by its executive head than during the two earlier periods. This was not because Davis had a less commanding personality or less dynamic leadership qualities than his predecessors, but because he recruited to the Council's staff outstanding professionals in various aspects of social welfare and gave them considerable scope and recognition in their respective fields.

"Dick" Davis had impressive qualifications for the position. Like those before him, he was widely travelled and had an outstanding academic record, with university studies at Toronto, McGill, Columbia and the London School of Economics. His professional experience with the YMCA, the Canadian Institute on Public Affairs (running the renowned Couchiching Conferences on

Canadian social and economic problems)[22] and the Canadian Youth Commission gave him extensive knowledge of many sectors of Canadian society. So did his professional membership in the Canadian Association of Social Workers, the Canadian Association for Adult Education and the Canadian Political Science Association.

His previous positions required numerous working contacts with senior political and corporate leaders, and through club memberships and in other ways he established and maintained corporate contacts in the Council's interest.

The setting of the times

In 1944 and early 1945, social welfare advocates felt exhilarating optimism because they hoped that plans then being revealed to the nation would be universally accepted and rapidly implemented. The miracles of Canada's war effort, they hoped, would be matched by policies and programs which would deal rapidly and effectively with the deficiencies in the economic, welfare and health systems that had crippled and shamed the nation during the 1930s—and, indeed, throughout our earlier history.

R.E.G. Davis

Faith especially had been placed in the federal government's 1945 "Green Book" proposals, which were set out for discussion with the provinces on postwar reconstruction. This major public document incorporated the essence of the Marsh and Heagerty reports and of other studies conducted on taxation, housing, employment and other aspects of rebuilding Canada's economic and social structures.

The Green Book proposals, and their associated taxation proposals, however, required the provinces to concur and participate actively. To the intense disappointment of social welfare leaders, the provinces did not cooperate. As the federal-provincial conference of 1945 broke down in disarray, it was clear that rapid implementation of the comprehensive income security and social and health service measures presented in the Green Book proposals was not to be. The postwar development of the promised welfare state would, at best, be incremental and piecemeal, and would face formidable opposition at every milepost along what now appeared would be a lengthy journey.

One of the reasons for the slow implementation was, paradoxically, the relative prosperity of the immediate postwar period. The large-scale unemployment that had been expected did not appear. Moreover, the unemployment insurance program launched just before the war was proving helpful. The family allowances program of 1944 had helped somewhat to stimulate the economy and at the same time had given families some "extra" funds with which to meet basic needs or, in many instances, to afford modest family pleasures. Accordingly, the Liberal government, which had been elected with a comfortable majority in June 1945 and an even larger one in 1949, saw no need to proceed too rapidly along the course laid out in the Green Book proposals. Indeed, some of its members at times seemed to regret ever having made the commitments contained in that wartime document.

The hallmarks of Davis's tenure

It was evident from the outset that the Council under Dick Davis would follow the policies and courses of action recommended by his predecessor George Davidson, as well as by Harry Cassidy. Policies adopted during the Davis period had the effect of:

- steadily developing the Council's resources and facilities;
- emphasizing education and the wide dissemination of information on social policy issues;

- extending the Council's interest in international social welfare;
- involving the corporate sector, and to a lesser extent organized labour;
- employing various strategies for effective advocacy.

The period witnessed growth in all aspects of the Council's work. The Council gradually secured funding increases from governments, corporations, membership and publications. It also secured an ideal site for a permanent building and raised funds to move from the old Council House at 245 Cooper Street to 55 Parkdale Avenue, an attractive and accessible location near the Ottawa River and the Health and Welfare Canada building at Tunney's Pasture. Most of those involved felt that the Council's resources, facilities and services were growing at a necessary and responsible pace.

Staff and program extensions

In the prewar period, the Council had established eight program committees or divisions. After the war, the divisions grew in significance and were progressively staffed with outstanding professionals. The experience Davis had gained as Secretary for Personnel and Programs for the National YMCA gave him exceptional skills in identifying and recruiting persons favourably known for their work in various human service areas. Because the Council recruited from the best available professionals in the country, its reputation grew for the high quality of its program leadership.

The calibre of these recruits was demonstrated by their contributions at the Council and by their post-Council careers. Indeed, the Council rendered an incidental service to the nation by providing mid-career experience to an outstanding array of talented and committed leaders. Council recruits during the Davis period included:

Bessie Touzel	Phyllis Burns	Ralph Albrant
Marion Murphy	Elizabeth Govan	Henry Stubbins
Marjorie King	William McGrath	Clifford Patrick

Patricia Godfrey	Peter Stanne	Ghislaine Guindon
Marie Hamel	Marthe Leduc	John Farina
William Dyson	Eric Smit	Norman Cragg
Edwin Watson	Réal Rouleau	George Hougham
Brian Iverson	George Hart	Lillian Thompson

This large and high quality staff provided progressively better and more extensive service in all the areas that had been identified as important by Harry Cassidy.

In addition, the Council assumed the major responsibility for an important Canadian social welfare institution, the biennial meetings of the Canadian Conference on Social Welfare. These national conferences had filled important educational and "networking" functions since their inception during the Whitton era. In 1950 the Council took full responsibility for their organization and funding, and for the next 30 years they were viewed as an adjunct to the Council's work.

The Council as educator

Dick Davis's background in adult education led naturally to his emphasis on the Council as an educational tool. In addition to the Canadian Conference on Social Welfare, the Council sponsored many meetings, seminars, consultations and public addresses involving the executive director and the professional staff. The Council published proceedings from the Conference as well as its own annual reports and an increasing flow of special publications from the various program divisions. *Canadian Welfare* continued to be its major publication and, with the recruitment of Marjorie King as editor in 1952, the magazine's educational value grew significantly. It continued to be a "house organ" with long-standing features such as "What the Council is Doing," "Across Canada," and "About People." These popular items ensured that the magazine was scanned by its readers and that their attention would thus be drawn to the more substantive articles and reviews.

The Council also produced policy statements on the macro issues of the period. Some had very wide distribution and immense influence. The most notable, perhaps, was the policy statement on *Social Security for Canada*, released in 1958.

Education and the personnel shortage

With its knowledge of social welfare agencies across Canada, the Council was acutely conscious of the severe shortage of competently educated and trained personnel to staff both the service aspects and administration of the agencies. The 1961 *Annual Report* refers to initiatives the Council had taken to help remedy the situation, including:

- establishing a commission on education and personnel for the social services;
- launching a study of job classifications and training needs in public welfare services;
- organizing a training institute for new staff members of Commmunity Funds and Councils;
- promoting university and other training for corrections staff;
- completing a Canada-wide pension plan for health and welfare agency employees.

The next year's *Annual Report* said that the activities of the Council's Commission on Education and Personnel had "grown to such proportions, and has had such marked success in responding to the needs of those who are working towards more adequate staffing, that it has this year been given, within the staff structure, the status of a Council division, with the full-time professional staff service of Mr. E. F. Watson, who has been the Executive Secretary of the Commission since its inception two years ago."

The 1962 *Annual Report* lauded the creation of the National Welfare Grants Directorate, inaugurated that year by the Department of National Health and Welfare. The Council had been lobbying for the establishment of such a program for many years, and while anticipating that this would stimulate much activity in welfare work, the Council saw it as especially important in promoting the preparation and recruitment of qualified personnel for social services.

In succeeding years, the Council worked closely with the National Welfare Grants Division and other agencies, such as the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, to stimulate the expansion of social work training. To a significant degree, the development of training programs for the social services, including an increase in the number of schools of social work from eight in the 1950s to nearly 30 by the end of the 1980s, can be attributed to the Council's initiatives in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

The international dimension

The Council under Davis continually educated its members on the international dimensions of social welfare. It repeatedly emphasized how Canada's welfare is inextricably bound up with the welfare of the world at large. Davis attended the first postwar meetings of the International Conference on Social Work (later to become the International Council on Social Welfare, the ICSW) held in Atlantic City and New York in 1948, and was elected to the executive of the organization. In the years that followed, the Council provided many support services for the Canadian Committee of the ICSW, including the preparation of Canada's "country papers" on the themes of the ICSW biennial conferences. The Council's involvement with the ICSW was especially important in the lead-up period to the Seventh Conference held in Toronto in 1954 on the theme "Promoting Self-Help and Cooperative Action." And at that Conference, George Davidson was elected as president of the

organization, one of many examples over the years of former Council Board members or staff continuing to provide social welfare leadership beyond their terms of office.

The Council also assumed responsibility for Canadian work on behalf of International Social Service (ISS), an organization established to provide case work and referral services involving two or more countries to migrating individuals and families. Initially carried as an extra duty by a staff member within the Child Welfare Division, the growing importance of the Council's ISS work soon warranted its own committee and the exclusive, though usually part-time, attention of a staff member designated as the ISS correspondent by the organization's head office in Geneva.

As the Council's reputation grew as Canada's "umbrella" welfare agency, international bodies and individuals came to see it as the organization through which they could make Canadian contacts. Through it they could secure access to data for international research and action on social and humanitarian issues. Though undoubtedly enriching, this "international traffic" placed additional demands on the Council's perennially stretched resources.

Involving the corporate sector

Through earlier professional work with the YMCA and the Canadian Youth Commission, Davis had worked with senior business leaders on boards in Montreal and Toronto. He was well aware of the strong and sometimes extreme opposition to growing public social expenditures voiced by business organizations such as the Canadian Manufacturers Association and the Canadian Board of Trade. His approach to this continual threat was to seek out corporate leaders and bring them onto the Council's boards and committees. There he worked to reach consensus with them on various of the Council's policy positions. Many of those dealing with income support, pensions and health insurance were intensely controversial. When consensus was achieved, the Council's position papers bore the stamp of approval of corporate leaders like Philip

Fisher (whose vital involvement with the Council both preceded and extended through the Davis period), Lawrence Freiman, Preston Gilbride, William Anderson, Kenneth Carter and Wallace McCutcheon. Such alliances helped offset anti-welfare forces in the business world. At the same time, they gave the Council's submissions greater weight with government than had they been developed exclusively by welfare professionals.

Wallace McCutcheon's participation was one of the best examples of corporate involvement. McCutcheon was the president of Argus Corporation and later a senator and minister of Trade and Commerce in the Diefenbaker cabinet. He had become president of the Council in 1955, and in 1957 presented a highly publicized and influential presidential address entitled "A Layman Looks at Welfare," later published in booklet form. In it, McCutcheon criticized many elements of contemporary social work and welfare programs, but affirmed "the need which exists in modern industrialized society for substantial public welfare measures, along with all we can do through voluntary services." He asserted that "enlightened businessmen recognize this as clearly as anyone else." He noted that "private enterprise has great achievements to its credit from which we all benefit, but by its very dynamic nature it creates a number of social problems with which the community is required to deal."

McCutcheon's address also touched on the role and contributions of the Council. He praised the Council for the "neutral ground" it provided for discussing welfare and for offering an atmosphere "in which politics do not enter" and "in which free and frank discussion is taken for granted." He called the Council "a genuine association in which members from coast to coast have a lively sense of proprietary interest," and noted that "there is a realism to its resolutions and a degree of support for its pronouncements which would almost certainly be absent without it." "The Canadian Welfare Council," he concluded, "is one of the great unifying influences in this country."

Strategies for effective advocacy

As stated earlier, several factors slowed government action on the reconstruction agenda spelled out in the Green Book proposals of 1945. The Council found it was dealing with a government in which there were supporters as well as opponents of the development of the promised social security measures.

The Council developed many strategies to promote action on social programs. It routinely developed its policy statements with an eye for what was realistic to press for at a given time, while keeping its comprehensive social welfare agenda before the Canadian public and federal and provincial governments. This involved assembling and analyzing data on social needs and on the costs and benefits of the measures required to deal with them. The Council joined coalitions with like-minded agencies and organizations, and confronted the organized opponents of social advance. And it made full use of information and other services available from government departments.

The Council's extensive relationships with officials in the three levels of government were channeled mainly through the Council's Public Welfare Division. Its staff enjoyed the confidence of officials from across Canada, officials who welcomed the division's meetings, workshops and other events as opportunities to discuss issues of administration and public policy under the Council's non-political auspices.

Contacts between Council staff and officials of the Department of National Health and Welfare were continuous and fruitful. Without compromising loyalties to their respective employers, officials of both organizations collaborated to strengthen Canada's social programs. The mutual purposes and shared perceptions of how social goals could be achieved were undoubtedly advanced by the many Council staff members who were recruited to positions within the department. Besides George Davidson, the prime

example of such recruitment, others who joined the department included Norman Cragg, William Dyson, Brian Iverson, Réal Rouleau and Eric Smit.

Lobbying for unemployment assistance: the prelude to CAP

Because the country had escaped high unemployment in the immediate postwar period, the federal government was unprepared to deal with it when it came unexpectedly in the mid-50s. Even though unemployment kept increasing—placing impossible burdens on private agencies, municipalities and some provinces —the government refused to act on the recommendations of numerous social policy organizations, including the Council.

In January 1955 the Council, having failed to move the government, mounted a major publicity campaign. It distributed 9,000 pamphlets to governments, members of Parliament, the provincial legislatures, the media and numerous other organizations. This wide publicity secured for the Council an emergency meeting with members of the federal cabinet. However, when the ministers remained unmoved, the Council decided on a bold and, as it subsequently proved, highly effective tactic.

The Council announced its own national conference, inviting federal and provincial government representatives. When several provinces indicated that they would attend, Prime Minister St. Laurent realized, in the words of the historian James Struthers, "that such a conference, coming in the aftermath of Canada's worst winter of unemployment since the 1930s, would become a public relations disaster for his government."[23] Accordingly, the Prime Minister met with the Council president on March 9 and indicated that if the provinces desired, he would call a "preliminary meeting" to the federal-provincial conference scheduled for the following autumn to discuss unemployment. The Council thereupon agreed to cancel its conference, confident that the federal govern-

ment would have to introduce a new unemployment assistance measure. Before the end of the year the *Unemployment Assistance Act* was passed.

James Struthers wrote:

> For Canadian social work, this represented perhaps the most significant policy victory the profession has yet achieved in federal politics. Through adroit publicity by the CWC, Ottawa had finally been pressured into converting its private and rather indecisive planning on unemployment into public policy.[24]

The Council's Public Welfare Division continued to develop and promote public policy positions. In an academic paper, Rodney Haddow described the Council's Board of Governors in the 1950s and 1960s as a "veritable *Who's Who* of the Canadian business and social establishment." He also remarked that "the Council's Public Welfare Division, on the other hand, was made up of a remarkably thorough cross-section of federal, provincial and municipal welfare officials in Canada." Haddow noted that "the Division developed almost all of the reform proposals that eventually became part of the Canada Assistance plan."[25]

Debating medicare

The formulation of a strong and unambiguous position on unemployment assistance revealed no internal differences within the Council. The Board, executive director and staff had no problem in mounting a strong and unified lobby on this basic measure for meeting the needs of the unemployed and their families. Reaching a comparable consensus on medical insurance was quite a different matter. Whether Canada should, in the 1960s, complement its hospital insurance program, enacted in the late 1950s, with a program for the universal coverage of physicians services was a highly controversial and divisive issue throughout Canada. The introduction in Saskatchewan of the first such program in North

America had given dramatic proof of that. In opposition to it, vilifying it as "socialized medicine," were the organized medical profession (strongly cheered on by the American Medical Association), a number of provincial governments (most notably Alberta), and powerful segments of the insurance industry.

Not surprisingly, there were deep differences of opinion on the Council's Board of Governors. These initially surfaced in 1961 when the Council responded to an invitation to present a brief to the Hall Commission on Health Services. It was impossible to reach consensus. The outcome was a compromise in which the various options open to the government were presented, but none unequivocally endorsed.[26] Interestingly, Wallace McCutcheon had been appointed to the seven-member commission, and when the Council's brief was being presented, he reportedly encouraged the delegation to express support for the comprehensive, publicly administered model, even though he knew the Board was split on the issue. When the Report of the Commission (1964) enshrined that approach in its Health Charter for Canadians, the Council had less difficulty in voicing its agreement and thereafter joining the forces outside and inside government who were pressing for the enactment and implementation of medicare legislation—events that took place in the post-Davis period.

The medicare case is a prime example of the kind of complex and controversial issue that the Council is sometimes called upon to address, where reaching consensus is simply not attainable.

Social policy and taxation

Another controversial public policy area was taxation. A Royal Commission on Taxation, comparable in significance to the Hall Commission on Health, was established in 1962. Its chairman, Kenneth Carter, had been president of the Council, but resigned on being appointed chairman to the Commission. The Council's decision to present a brief to the Commission was not immediately seen by all members of the Board of Governors as necessary or

sensible. What, some asked, have the concerns of the Council to do with taxation? *Canadian Welfare* responded by posing other questions:

> How much effect does the tax system have on income distribution? Do tax levels really influence initiative and work incentives? What are the welfare implications of personal exemptions, medical deductions and charitable donations in the income tax? When should income maintenance programs be financed from wage-related contributions? Through earmarked taxes? Out of general revenue?[27]

The Board ultimately agreed that a strong brief must be presented, and a special committee was formed. Dr. George Hougham, the Council's research director, took the resulting draft brief across the country to get reactions from Council members and others whose views could add to the submission. The thrust of the brief was reflected in the Commission's recommendations. The Commission proposed a radical restructuring of the tax system based on a comprehensive concept of income, popularized by the phrase "a buck is a buck is a buck," meaning that all income, whether salaries, dividends, gifts, inheritance or capital gains, should be equally taxable.

The Commission's report became a classic as a rational and equitable approach to tax policy. However, it was bitterly opposed by special interest groups and individuals. They launched an all-out attack on it, including, in some cases, an attack on Kenneth Carter personally. Successive governments failed to implement most of the Commission's interrelated proposals, and the tax system, contrary to the Commission's clear intent, was destined to become more complex and inequitable. The Council, and Canadians generally, were confronted with the financial and political power of those who stood to gain by the proliferation of special exemptions

and tax loopholes. The history of the Carter Commission clearly established the crucial relevance of tax policy to the socio-economic issues which are among the Council's central concerns.

Two years after submitting his internationally renowned but ill-starred report, Carter died "a broken, bitterly disappointed man." He had "provided a far-reaching blueprint for a redistribution of wealth in Canada."[28] In retrospect, Carter might well be seen as a martyr to the values of equity and fairness implicit in the Council's objectives.

The Davis years in review

Throughout the Davis period, the Council experienced inevitable internal tensions associated with rapid growth and with strongly motivated professional staff seeking increased resources for their special areas of responsibility. In many respects, however, this period can be considered a kind of golden age in the Council's history—a time when the results of its work were clearly visible and morale was generally high.

In 1945 Harry Cassidy had predicted that centrifugal forces would cause spin-offs of some Council programs, but this had not yet happened. The Council kept its character as a central agency within whose sphere virtually all components of Canadian social welfare were accommodated and nurtured. Its collective staff had a reputation for knowing everybody in social welfare in Canada. Equally, they had a reputation for not only knowing everything there was to know about the strengths and weaknesses of the country's social programs, but for knowing how to enhance the former and help remedy the latter.

The Council's accomplishments during the Davis period extended deep into the realm of public policy. Its claim to have played a major role in moving the country forward toward the goals set out in the wartime planning papers is incontestable. Tangible progress in unemployment assistance, old age security and

other income support programs, hospital insurance and other health and social service measures attested to the Council's influence.

By way of postscript, Dick Davis was appointed an Officer of the Order of Canada in 1973 and died in 1988 at age 93. Among his many services to his country was the assured position he had won for the Council in the annals of Canadian affairs.

Four

Transformation and Transition: The Baetz Years, 1963-1977

During what became known as the "Baetz Years" (1963-1977), the social upheavals of the 1960s were followed by the economic dislocations of the mid-70s—the energy crisis and inflation. Developing appropriate strategies during this period of rapidly changing values proved more complex for the Council than at any earlier time.

It was decidedly not a time of social policy stagnation. Social policy was prominently on the agenda of all five of the federal Liberal governments of the day, all but one of which (the first Trudeau government of 1968-1972) were minority governments. Once again the truism was confirmed that minority governments retain power by advancing significant social policy legislation.

It became evident in the mid-60s that the measures the Council had called upon the government to undertake in its *Social Security for Canada* statement of 1958 faced more formidable obstacles than the income security and health insurance measures of the 1950s. Adoption of new shared-cost measures faced three obstacles:

- the Liberals, while in opposition, had jeopardized that approach by promising to opt out;
- there were significant constitutional difficulties associated with new social insurance programs;
- the government was reluctant to tackle the unmet needs of Canadians for a wide range of personal and community social services.

Social policy critics in the voluntary sector had to apply constant pressure on successive governments to generate the will and find the means to overcome those obstacles and to adopt the measures for which the period is noted. Throughout this era, the Council provided important leadership in social policy planning and advocacy.

Reuben Baetz

The task for the Council, and for future-oriented agencies generally, was complicated by the worldwide debate at the time on how to plan for post-industrial society, which was variously described as already having arrived or imminent. People like Professor Charles E. Hendry, a veteran Board member and later the Council's president, and futurist Eric Trist argued that the second half of the 20th century was going to be one of the great turning points in human history. The Council

and others working for social well-being, they insisted, needed to take that into serious account. Trist formulated his social theory around the concepts of "welfare" and "development." He saw a process of escalation towards a post-industrial society that would generate endless turbulence unless key elements within it could develop the ability to recognize, analyze and deal comprehensively with contemporary mega-problems. Welfare and development alike were dependent on effective strategies for the solution of such problems.[29]

Trist's analysis influenced how those within the Council viewed its structure and how it should be restructured to take the lead in moving Canadian society from turbulent times to a more steady state conducive to the Council's long-held objectives. The Council would not be immune from the turbulence Trist said would characterize society's transition to the post-industrial era.

A director for two troubled decades

During the latter years of the Dick Davis era, there was much speculation about who would become the Council's next executive director and what qualities this person would need. Many that the Council had recruited over the years had impressive leadership qualities. The choice of Reuben Baetz recognized qualities he had displayed in earlier years in relief and rehabilitation work in Europe and Africa and as assistant director of the Canadian Red Cross Society. His academic record also was strong, involving studies in the arts, sociology, history and social work at universities that included Western Ontario, Columbia and Toronto. Like his predecessors, Baetz moved easily in all sectors of Canadian society and was a skillful user of the communications media, including television. His international work helped him acquire the global and ecological view of society that theorists like Eric Trist saw as essential for leaders in key social institutions.

New realities, new strategies

In the mid-60s, the Council found that it needed to adapt its strategies to rapidly changing federal-provincial relations. The minority Liberal government had come to office committed to the social welfare proposals adopted at its Kingston Conference in 1960 while the party was still in opposition. These proposals included the adoption of a new social insurance measure destined to become the Canada Pension Plan and extensive improvements in public assistance which were to emerge as the Canada Assistance Plan. Enactment of both those programs, together with others focussed on regional development, was propelled to a degree by the dramatic and troubling "rediscovery" of North American poverty. Governments in Canada and the United States alike needed to be seen as "declaring war" on poverty with tangible measures directed to its victims: the chronically poor, youth, disadvantaged minorities and those living in economically depressed regions.

In developing strategies to deal with the social, economical and political imperatives of the 1960s, the Council, like the federal government, had to reckon with the new prominence of the provinces in social welfare. Through "the quiet revolution" of the 1950s, Quebec in particular had developed entirely new concepts of the society it wanted to create. Simultaneously, it had also developed new competence in social affairs and a determination to develop its own separate social programs, particularly in social insurance.

Transformation: CWC becomes CCSD

During the first four or five years of the Baetz period, the Council continued essentially along the lines of its earlier history. It contributed to the national debate on income security measures and supported the government in pressing the minority House of Commons to enact the Canada Assistance Plan. This went against the wishes of those in Parliament who would have delayed its passage

until there was a firm commitment to proceed from what, some months later, became the Guaranteed Income Supplement to the Old Age Security program.

It became evident during those years that the Council lacked the necessary flexibility and research capability to give direction and leadership along well-thought-out policy lines. Too often the Council found itself reacting to ad hoc and politically expedient measures of the minority governments. Some of the Board and staff came to believe that the dominance of the various Council program divisions, and the administrative attention required to deal with their problems, limited the Council's social policy effectiveness. Meeting these divisional needs required increasing amounts of its very limited resources. Moreover, the "centrifugal forces" referred to by Cassidy appeared to be increasing. Consequently, pressure mounted within some program divisions to break from the Council and become autonomous or semi-autonomous organizations.

This combination of factors led to the appointment of the Commission on Functions and Organization. Chaired by Humphrey Carver, a long-time Board member, this Commission had 11 members, six of whom were well-known Canadians from outside the Council's Board. The Commission drew on the work of two previous consultations: one at Ste-Adele, Quebec, in October 1967 and a National Consultation on Planning and Research held in Muskoka, Ontario, in 1963.

The Muskoka consultation was critical of the Council's divisional structure. It reported that this "tends to splinter the approach to planning, research and social action, and fails to make the best use of available resources, both financial and staff."

Besides considering the views expressed in the two earlier consultations and Eric Trist's predictions, the Commission critically examined the Council's complex organization. It found the organizational structure to be at serious variance with accepted

guidelines for sound administration and also that its 90-member Board of Governors was far too large and unwieldy to carry out effectively its policy-making function. The Commission concluded its analysis with six recommendations:

- The divisional structure should be abandoned "and replaced by a system for mobilizing staff and membership around a coherent program of social development tasks."
- The operational unity of the staff "should be strengthened so as to handle a sequence of work through stages of examining issues and problems, developing conclusions and proposals, projecting information and action." It recommended that there be a group of program directors, research and development departments, and an information and publications department.
- To the existing membership categories of *individual* and *agency* members should be added two additional categories of *participant* and *affiliated* organizations.
- Members and staff of the Council "should be mobilized together in committees and working groups" to pursue program objectives, rather than working separately in divisions.
- The Board of Governors should consist of 60 persons elected from the general membership for three-year terms, 20 retiring and 20 elected each year. The Board of Governors should elect from its members a Board of Directors which should, in turn, appoint an Executive Committee of five.
- The name of the Council should be "changed to reflect a shift of emphasis from the connotation of the word 'welfare' to a broader concern with social policy and social development."

The Commission elaborated its six major recommendations in a 33-page chapter of its report.[30] The new name it proposed —The Social Development Council of Canada—had the identical meaning as the one eventually adopted.

Transition

The reorganization called for by the Carver Commission was profound but fairly straightforward to implement. Tensions and some acrimony were inevitable, however, because resources were involved and some careers affected. The conversion of the Chests and Councils Division into what would become the Community Funds and Councils of Canada and later the United Way of Canada was particularly stormy. Interpreting the need for the changes and gaining broad understanding and acceptance of them would prove to be a difficult and prolonged process, extending throughout Baetz's tenure and beyond it.

By 1971 the Council had become the Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD) and had substantially phased out its program divisions. Only three divisions remained: Family and Child Welfare, the Division on Aging and the Canadian Public Welfare Association. As implied by their names, the Community Chests and Councils of Canada and the Canadian Corrections Association were moving toward greater autonomy, and by 1971 they were called "affiliated organizations." Forty-eight projects approved by the Board of Governors that year reflected the Council's new emphasis on research and on projects not confined to individual divisions. Staff members who had been executive secretaries of the three divisions were now called program directors, and they reported directly to the Council's executive director.

Some activities that had been associated with the divisions continued, for example, the Canadian Conference on Social Welfare and the Annual Consultations of Social Service Administrators.

Also remaining within the Council's orbit were the Canadian components of the International Social Service (ISS) and the International Council on Social Welfare (ICSW). Views differed about the relationship these two international bodies should have with the Council. Through its ICSW Committee, the Council played an especially important role in the ICSW from 1972 to 1976 when Reuben Baetz was world president of the organization. By 1976

the Council was coordinating the Canadian component of ICSW Canada, and discussions were going on regarding its integration into the Council, with the latter assuming all financial responsibility. No long-term arrangements for the two international programs were made during the Baetz period, however. When decisions were finally made a few years later, they were not those contemplated at this time.

Income security in the Baetz years

During much of the 1960s, the Council was well served by its 1958 policy statement *Social Security for Canada*. The close links between the CCSD's staff and "reformist bureaucrats" ensured that the 22 recommendations in the policy statement were constantly highlighted for discussion. Frequent references to the Council's statement were made during debates in the Senate and the Commons. One opposition MP kept the statement permanently in his Commons desk for easy reference while pressing the government to act on its recommendations.

In 1963, the return of the Liberal Party to office with a strong social policy platform seemed to promise that the Council's proposals would be implemented. However, the breakneck pace associated with Pearson's election promise of "60 days of decision" was deplored by the Council. It urged more thoughtful planning, especially in relation to the proposed social insurance measures for the aged, the permanently disabled and survivors. Had the government heeded this advice, the Canada Pension Plan might have enjoyed a smoother passage.

The Council was able to commend both the federal and the provincial governments on the more deliberate process by which the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) was developed. CAP contained many of the Council's 1958 recommendations on public assistance. The bill's passage in 1966 also reflected the prior work of the Council's Public Welfare Division in bringing together federal and provincial officials for social policy discussions. Over a period

of two and a half years, federal and provincial ministers and officials succeeded with remarkable harmony in reaching agreement and bringing the plan into being. Some of the praise CAP earned as an outstanding example of cooperative federalism could justifiably be credited to the Council. Although some opposition MPs wanted CAP held back until the government brought forward a promised improvement in the Old Age Security (OAS) program, Reuben Baetz strongly argued for the prompt enactment of CAP by Parliament.

When, later in 1966, the Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS) was enacted, that measure received the Council's warm approval. In succeeding years, throughout the Baetz period and on to the present, the Council became the leading Canadian exponent of the income security approach initiated with the GIS: that of income support payments using a negative income tax technique. The introduction of income-tested payments for individuals eligible for old age pensions, and the later extension of the negative income tax approach for income security payments in the form of tax credits to both individuals and families, added promising but highly complex elements to the national debate on income security.

The Council worked through the first two Trudeau administrations (1968-1978) to promote the creation of a more integrated and equitable system of social security. During the first administration (1968-1972), the Council raised important issues about the proposals made in government white papers on taxation, unemployment insurance and income security. Although pleased with some of the tax reform measures proposed and later enacted, the Council criticized the government's failure to adopt the equitable tax system proposed by the Carter Commission.

Similarly, although the Council approved the extensions in the coverage of the 1970 *Unemployment Insurance Act*, it deplored the decision to try to make the program "be all things to all people." Reuben Baetz, in a brief when amendments were being considered in the mid-1970s, remarked that the *Act* had set the

country on a course that "concentrated more on people after they became unemployed, rather than on creating employment for them."[31] Moreover, in committing very large amounts of money to the Unemployment Insurance Program, the government "indefinitely deferred the possibility of establishing a comprehensive guaranteed income system in Canada, whose greatest beneficiaries would be the working poor."[32]

It became apparent in 1970 that the proposals the Minister of National Health and Welfare hoped to propose for a comprehensive guaranteed income security system had lost out to the scheme for vast expenditures on unemployment insurance. The Minister, John Munro, denied the resources for the plan he and his officials had initially proposed, brought forward instead the Family Income Security Plan (FISP), a truncated measure destined to die in Parliament. This involved amending the family allowance program to provide much larger benefits to low-income families, graduated benefits to middle-income families, and no support for families with an income above $10,001. The Council was highly critical of FISP and, in its place, proposed a six-point plan that would have retained the principle of universality, although payments made to higher-income families would have been retrieved through a special tax schedule.

Throughout the remainder of the Baetz period, the Council continued to develop income security proposals. In part, they were based on the work done for *Social Policies for Canada, Part I*, which had been completed in 1969 and which emphasized the principles that should underlie a social security system. In 1972 the Council convened the Nuffield Canadian Seminar and widely distributed its papers and proceedings, entitled *Guaranteed Annual Income: An Integrated Approach*. The next year it published *Social Security for Canada 1973*, which made more specific recommendations for an integrated system of social security. In addition to income assistance, these dealt with manpower, regional economic

expansion, minimum wages, education, health care, housing, legal aid, child day care, visiting homemaker services and community centres.

In the same year, 1973, the federal government published the *Working Paper on Social Security in Canada*, known as the "Orange Paper" of Marc Lalonde, the first Minister of National Health and Welfare in the second Trudeau government. The paper, and the Federal-Provincial Social Security Review it introduced, took centre stage for the next three or four years. The Review led to a number of reform proposals that were adopted. One provided for tripling family allowance payments and simultaneously making them taxable. It also allowed provinces to request changes in the allowance rates within their borders, according to the age or number of children in a family. A second proposal provided for changes in the Canada Pension Plan: indexing for inflation, elimination of retirement and earnings tests, and equal treatment for male and female contributors and beneficiaries. A third proposal was to launch community employment projects in selected cities across the country.

The Council supported these developments and the intergovernmental agreements that were provisionally accepted, first for an income security program, later for a wide-ranging social services measure. Both these initiatives, however, were destined to fail, partly because of federal-provincial disagreement and partly because of a downswing in the economy that made the federal government reluctant to increase social spending.

The Council and the non-governmental sector generally were given no significant part to play in the Social Security Review. Reuben Baetz spoke out publicly against this trend. He also forcefully criticized federal social policies in speaking to a House of Commons Committee in November 1975. These actions may have contributed to an angry public attack on Baetz and the Council by Marc Lalonde at the Canadian Conference on Social Development in 1976.[33]

The open breach between the federal government and the Council was atypical of the Council's history as a vigorous critic of government policies and programs. Even though governments have publicly recognized the Council as playing an essential and respected role in promoting the social welfare of Canadians, we may assume that the incisive advocacy and lobbying of the Council has been attacked on occasion behind the closed doors of government caucus rooms and cabinet chambers. The overt and highly publicized attack in 1976, however, was unique. It was probably prompted by the looming failure of the main elements of the Social Security Review, a failure that could not justly be attributed to lack of support by the Council or other non-governmental agencies; rather, it emanated from lack of support within the federal government and erosion of the earlier federal-provincial consensus.

Social services during the Baetz years

The Council's efforts regarding social services may prove to have been of more lasting consequence than its work on income security. The Council influenced public opinion and public policy on housing, the environment, health, personal and community social services, and community planning. It called for expanding and stabilizing the supply of housing provided by the private sector. It promoted federal, provincial and municipal public housing and the collaboration of cooperative housing groups, non-profit organizations and limited-dividend corporations. And it urged that social, recreational and public health service facilities be included in public housing complexes.

The Council also worked extensively on health issues. It strongly endorsed the Charter of Health for Canadians proclaimed in the Hall Commission Report and played a significant role in promoting the enactment and implementation of the *Medical Care Act* of 1966. It urged that the program be financed entirely out of general revenues and embrace universal coverage on a uniform basis without co-insurance, part-payment at the time of services, or any

similar economic barrier to covered services. It also recommended that health services additional to those of physicians be eligible for federal cost-sharing under the *Act*.

Among other health policies for which the Council sought support were community health services for the general population and for discharged mental patients returning to the community. It urged that health and welfare services be coordinated with services to meet other needs, including family planning programs.

The Council supported family planning to assist and encourage what birth control advocates called "responsible parenthood." In 1963, the first of the Baetz years, providing information on family planning was still a *criminal* offence. Its decriminalization in 1964 opened the door to legitimized family planning. Nevertheless, both before and after the amending of the Criminal Code, the Council has had to deal deftly with an issue on which differing moral positions are vigorously held. The Council strongly supported the first National Conference on Family Planning held in Ottawa in 1970 and the positive measures it generated.

In the mid-70s, the Council recognized that more attention was needed on the relationship of law to social development. With a support grant from The Donner Foundation, staff was hired in 1973 to undertake the initial work on what was later to become one of the Council's major program areas.

The Council's work on community and personal social services was extensive. The Hepworth and Associated Studies provided Canada's most complete description and analysis of social services ever undertaken. They helped delineate the range of welfare services that merited inclusion under the Canada Assistance Plan. Later they helped define what additional services should be included in the Social Services Bill, which was developed but not enacted in the final stages of the Social Security Review.

In two emerging areas of social concern—aging and day care for children—the Council played a particularly notable role. It convened national conferences which broadened public knowledge in these areas and led to important activities and organizations.

Recognition of the role of volunteers in social services was also strongly promoted by the Council. The studies and community activities on volunteerism carried out by Novia Carter, a member of the CCSD staff during the 1960s and 1970s, were posthumously recognized by Health and Welfare Canada with the establishment of the Novia Carter Fellowship.

Identifying social issues, formulating social policies and establishing social programs require organizational and community planning. To this end, the Council held meetings across the country and produced books and materials on the many issues related to community multi-service centres and on ways to improve the effective delivery of community social services. *Canadian Welfare*, as the Council's principal periodical publication, continued to be influential in providing information and stimulating discussion and action.

During the Baetz period, the Council worked continuously on poverty-related issues as they affected rural and urban Canada, children, youth, the handicapped, disadvantaged minorities and the aged. In its deliberations it sought to involve the individuals or groups experiencing poverty, deprivation, discrimination and alienation. Through the meetings it convened, including the biennial Canadian Conferences on Social Welfare, it raised the consciousness of Canadians and their policy-makers on the nature and dimension of this blight on society. Here the Council could not claim dramatic victories. But its efforts promoted and influenced the positive measures that were taken in the 1960s and 1970s, both for income security and a range of social services.

Staff in the Baetz years

Changes in the Council's structure and program orientation resulted in changing staff requirements. A partial listing of staff who made significant contributions to the Council's work in various roles, many of whom went on to do important work in other fields, includes:

Cenovia Addy
Michael Audain
Jim Brown
Joan Brown
Novia Carter
Henry Chapin
Kevin Collins
Norman Dahl
Doris French
Marion Fulcher
Mildred Flanagan
Marie Hamel
Philip Hepworth
Yolande Lachapelle
Josette Laframboise
Gertrude Lapointe
Harry MacKay
Maurice Miron
Freda Paltiel
Jeffrey Patterson
Lorna Rice
James Robb
Ian Rose
Philip Rosen
David Ross
Doris Roy
Lucy Smith
Robert Thompson
Michael Wheeler
Jack White
David Woodsworth
Freda Zachary

The Baetz years in review

The Baetz period at the CCSD was one of continuing expansion. The Council's budget increased threefold, with structures completely changed to adapt to the Canadian social and economic environment. In stating that "the Council has actively contributed to the formulation of national social policies through its many well researched reports on different issues," CCSD President Jean Seguin drew attention to the importance that research and social policy formulation and promotion had attained in the Council's program and its operational strategies.[34]

This was illustrated in the Council's *Annual Report* for 1976, the last during Baetz's tenure. It listed 29 projects completed or under way, including studies on women in need, youth and employment, the impact of government spending cuts, housing for the elderly, volunteers in social welfare, retirement policies, immigration, access to justice, corporate concentration, national housing policy, young persons in conflict with the law, and community multi-service centres.

Reuben Baetz left the CCSD in May 1977 for a political career in Ontario, where he held cabinet portfolios in the Progressive Conservative government until 1985. In reviewing Baetz's contributions to the Council, Jean Seguin remarked that he had left an "indelible stamp on the social development field in Canada [through] his excellent grasp of the technicalities of social policy and his talent for communication."[35] Another past president, Agnes Benidickson, stated that Reuben Baetz had "contributed a unique blend of Canadian and international experience to the social development field."[36]

Five

Interregnum, Then Turbulence

Agnes Benidickson

Following the departure of Reuben Baetz, the Canadian Council on Social Development found itself, for the third time in its history, without an executive director for an extended period. To provide policy and managerial leadership, the Board of Governors asked Agnes Benidickson to serve as interim executive officer, which she did from June through December 1977. As a long-time member of the Board of Governors and president from 1972 to 1975, she was well qualified to bring the Council through a time of change. Among significant changes was the certification of a union for the Council staff. Unionization had produced some tension in the latter period of the Baetz administration. The Council was now obliged to abandon its implicit assumption that shared values, social goals and, in many cases, friendships obviated any need for

formal distinctions between management and staff. The right of the latter to negotiate collectively the conditions of their employment was conceded, however reluctantly.

Agnes Benidickson accepted the change as inevitable and healthy. She wrote for the 1977-1978 *Annual Report*:

> The role of the Council is and has been subject to change through the years. A constant factor has been that it has always given strong leadership in the social policy field. In this time of change, the CCSD's members, its Board of Governors, its staff and its next Executive Director must work together toward a better Canada for all. By our united effort we can and we must maintain the Council's place as a strong leader in the quest for human betterment.

Through the interregnum, a number of projects initiated earlier were successfully completed. These included an important conference on family policy attended by experts from several countries that had participated, as had Canada, in an extensive international study on this subject. The Council's Annual Meeting featured detailed consideration of "Social Development in a Pluralist Society." The Council also addressed "the key unarticulated issue in the federal-provincial social security review," namely income distribution. This led it to analyze "what has become a key paradox today: why hasn't the tremendous growth in transfer expenditures (from governments to persons, from governments to in-

Agnes Benidickson

dustry, from governments to governments) resulted in any change in the pattern of personal income distribution?"

A time of turbulence: Pierre Bourdon, 1978-1980

The central task facing the Board of Governors during the interregnum, however, was the selection of the new executive director. The choice was Pierre Bourdon, who had headed Quebec's oldest and largest community services centre, Hochelaga-Maisonneuve. Mr. Bourdon had attained a Master's degree in sociology from the University of Montreal, had travelled extensively and had carried executive responsibilities for a Canada Council's commission of inquiry and an internationally focussed organization, Canada World Youth.

In the introduction to the Council's *Annual Report* for 1977-1978, Pierre Bourdon said that a "political malaise" was afflicting Canada. In the second *Annual Report* while he was executive director, he pointed again to the country's "general climate of uncertainty, confusion and redefinition." The factors contributing to it, Bourdon said, included "the instability created by the long pre-electoral period, the ups and downs of the national economy, the lengthy and inconclusive negotiations over block funding for social agencies, the vague adjustments to housing policies, and the greater prominence of the present and future problems facing senior citizens." In the 1979-1980 *Annual Report*, which would be his last, he once more found that "there was not much cause for optimism," noting that "two elections, two governments, no budget and a steadily deteriorating economy created a climate of instability for all Canadians."

Several factors contributed to this "political malaise." Among them were the divisive issues surrounding "sovereignty association," the far-reaching proposal of the Parti Québécois, which formed the Government of Quebec in 1976. Another was "western

alienation," the accumulated feelings in the western provinces, especially Alberta, that westerners were not being fairly treated by the federal government.

These troubling external conditions not only complicated the Council's policy-making, they also affected aspects of its internal functioning. To deal with the perceived failure of the executive director to provide positive leadership in all areas of his responsibility, the Board of Governors gave Bourdon "more freedom to attend to the management aspects of the Council" by establishing the position of Director of Programs and appointing to it Geoff Norquay, who had extensive program and intergovernmental experience. The Council also needed further restructuring in order to maintain its normal activities as well as respond to the social development challenges of this turbulent period. This involved moving away from the use of large standing committees to develop policy on specific social policy areas. Instead, it began using small advisory groups to deal with single projects or series of related projects.

In this context, the Board of Governors formed a special committee to analyze the current state of operations and to establish goals for the next five years. This, in part, was a response to serious tensions associated with actions of the executive director. There were also financial problems caused by loss of government grants and reduced corporate support. As a result, some staff were laid off. The process was poorly handled, leading to a conflict with the Canadian Association of Social Workers.

Differences also developed between Bourdon and Council members associated with the Council's international programs: the Canadian Committee of ISS and of ICSW. This conflict resulted in a reversal of the planned integration of ICSW into CCSD and accelerated the ISS Committee's movement toward becoming a fully autonomous branch of ISS. The *Annual Report* of 1978-1979, though silent on the reasons for these developments, announced that "International Social Service, a former CCSD program area,

became the Canadian Branch of ISS International on April 1, 1979." It recorded, as well, that "ICSW Canada, a CCSD program area since 1976, became autonomous on October 1, 1978."

In spite of the controversy surrounding these events, they essentially constituted the completion of the Carver Committee's blueprint for the Council. It had become what the Committee proposed: a social development council able to concentrate on research and the panoply of commitments, associations, coalitions, community assessments, political evaluations and strategic planning associated with advocacy.

The positive effects of this reduction of CCSD's areas of responsibility did not manifest themselves during the Bourdon period. Internal administrative difficulties, a five-week strike by the Council's unionized employees, interpersonal friction, and accountability problems contributed to Bourdon's leaving the Council, effective March 31, 1980.

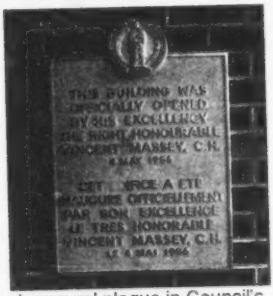
Later that same year, in October, the Council also lost its president, Claude Garcia, who resigned to stand for office in the Quebec legislature. Nevertheless, the Council continued, as it had throughout this turbulent period, to work actively, if somewhat unevenly, on social policy questions: the faltering social services component of the Social Security Review; the failure of housing policies associated with tax shelters; the accelerating dangers of consumer debt; deteriorating urban neighbourhoods; and the fate of Canada's medicare program.

Finding a successor to Bourdon became a priority for the Board of Governors. It engaged a management consulting firm, one of whose officers, Charles Chamard, carried the Council's senior management role for six months under the direction of CCSD President Mavis Hurley. In her introduction to the *Annual Report* for 1980-1981, Hurley outlined the magnitude of the task that she, the Board and Council staff faced. She described them as among the "toughest challenges of [the Council's] 60-year history." She

spoke of "declining revenues from private sector members, divergent feelings among Board and other members on the role of the Council, a major financial deficit, the need for staff reductions, and a crisis in organizational management." Nevertheless, Mavis Hurley ended her message on an optimistic note; she announced the appointment of Terrance (Terry) Hunsley as the new executive director.

Staff at Council House, Cooper Street, 1951

Moving into 55 Parkdale



Inaugural plaque in Council's new Parkdale headquarters

CWC publications

Doralice Loyer, Council's long-serving receptionist, retires

Staff at 55 Parkdale, 1988

Some examples of the Council's publications

Board Members preparing to leave Parkdale quarters

Sharon Manson Singer and David Ross at 75th Anniversary Dinner in Vancouver, June 1995

Long-time friends of the Council: Philip Hepworth, Doralice Loyer, Agnes Benidickson and Jim MacDonald

CCSD President Charles Birchall presents Agnes Benidickson with her Lifetime Achievement Award at a reception in Ottawa

Staff of the Centre for International Statistics, Angela Gibson-Kierstead, Gail Fawcett and Richard Shillington, at the Council's new headquarters on MacLaren

Lifetime Achievement Award winners Richard Splane, Darlene Marzari, Anne Usher and Michael Clague at 75th Anniversary Dinner, Vancouver, June 1995

Six

Rebuilding and Redirection: Terrance M. Hunsley, 1980-1990

Although he was less of a national figure at the time of his appointment than some of his predecessors, Terrance Hunsley arrived at the CCSD with an established reputation in federal and provincial public service. He had obtained a Bachelor's degree in psychology and a Master's in sociology at the University of New Brunswick, another Master's degree in adult education at St. Francis Xavier University, a certificate in public administration from the Federal Centre of Management, plus additional education and training in management and language. Through the latter, he attained a working competence in French.

Hunsley's earlier working career, in which he combined some part-time teaching of sociology at the University of New Brunswick, was in social development. He had extensive responsibilities in programs that linked the public and private sectors. He entered the Public Service of Canada through its Career Assignment Program

and held three positions of progressively increasing responsibility in the Public Service Commission, the Department of Labour, and Health and Welfare Canada. In the Department of Labour, he worked in the International and Provincial Relations section, where he gained experience in federal-provincial relations and a familiarity with international organizations, notably the International Labour Organization and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.

Hunsley's most relevant experience for work with the Council was with Health and Welfare Canada from early 1978, where he served as director of the Social Services Division during the final phase of the ill-fated endeavour to establish a new federal-provincial social services program. It was a time of considerable federal-provincial activity, when a wide range of policy proposals were under consideration. The position offered an ideal vantage point for viewing the contemporary social welfare scene in Canada, for assessing the failed initiatives of the 1970s, and for contemplating the problems, potentialities and enigmas at the dawn of the 1980s.

While still at Health and Welfare Canada, Hunsley played a part in the CCSD's endeavours to plan for the new decade. He participated in the Canadian Conference on Social Development in June 1980 in St. John's, Newfoundland. There he was on a panel examining the options for the funding of social development programs in the 1980s. He would be intensely involved with this subject for the entire decade, but from a non-governmental rather than a governmental perspective.

Terrance M. Hunsley

Pre-planning for the Eighties

The Council took several steps to develop policy papers which would provide guidelines for social development in the 1980s. In the fall of 1979, the Board of Governors decided that the Council should develop a major policy document comparable to *Social Security for Canada* in 1958 and *Social Policies for Canada* in 1969. The new document was intended to reflect the broadest judgement and experience of Council members and others directly involved in the design, delivery and receipt of social programs. It was based on background papers written for the Canadian Conference on Social Development in St. John's. The conference theme was "Social Policies for the Eighties" and this became the title of the new policy statement.

This widely circulated 100-page book offered indicators for policy development and action in employment and income security, social services, health care, housing, social planning, citizen participation, and information and research. The introduction clarified the scope of social policy and its relationship to individual and social rights. It suggested a broader understanding of social development as supporting "the concept of social programs as social utilities that are available and accessible to the fullest extent possible." The book also contained a succinct discussion of the interdependence of social policy and economic policy, stressing that "comprehensive social programs and economic growth are not alternatives, they are complementary activities."

Social Policies for the Eighties also contained a review of social policy in the 1970s that identified developments which initially had promised substantial social progress, but, for various reasons, had never achieved their potential. These included:

- the new *Unemployment Insurance Act*, which, although it broadened program coverage, had not adequately met the needs of large numbers of the most vulnerable members of the labour force;

- the failed federal-provincial initiative to develop effective assistance to the working poor;
- the comparable failure of the federal-provincial social services initiative;
- the deadening response of the health establishment to the community health centre concept and, to a lesser extent, to the health promotion ideas implicit in Canada's internationally renowned document *A New Perspective on the Health of Canadians*.[37]

Social Policies for the Eighties strongly criticized a federal measure enacted in 1977, the *Established Programs Financing Act* (EPF). The *Act*'s abandonment of conditional cost-sharing terminated the standard-setting provision on which Canada's nationwide health insurance system had been based and for many years sustained. The document referred to the comparable impact of EPF on post-secondary education and concluded that the *Act* signalled a major retreat by the federal government from an activist role in social policy development.

Social Policies for the Eighties was perhaps as helpful a planning document as could have been produced at the time, given the uncertain political and social climate of the late 1970s. It was not a prescription for a social welfare agenda as was the 1958 document, because a welfare state had, in fact, been created and was serving much of the population reasonably well. However, there were hundreds of thousands of people whose main need was for productive employment at fair wages or, alternatively, adequate income-support measures, and governments had failed to respond to these undeniable deficiencies.

To propose solutions to these problems—the persisting inequality in income distribution, and the associated breakdown and violence in established social institutions—proved far more difficult than it had been 20 years earlier. It was already clear that social

development workers in the 1980s would have to spend almost as much energy in defending past gains as in working for positive change and development for the future.

The social policy setting: trends and responses

The eve of the new decade was marked by two federal elections, one early in 1979 which elected a minority Progressive Conservative government headed by Joe Clark and another, early in 1980, which saw the return of the Liberal Party, headed—for the fourth time—by Pierre Elliot Trudeau.

The Clark government's tenure was too brief to have a significant impact on social policy. The Prime Minister's concept of Canada as a "community of communities" was not tested and, in regard to social policy, the regime is remembered mainly for responding to the pressure by the CCSD and other organizations to arrest the erosion of the health care system. Justice Emmett Hall, chairman of the renowned Hall Report on health services for Canada in 1964, was now called upon to recommend measures to restore the system's integrity. The Clark government also made an organizational change in establishing the "envelope" system for grouping departments with related functions for the purpose of managing expenditures in relation to the policies and priorities that applied to them. The "social development" envelope embraced seven functional departments and agencies, the largest of which was Health and Welfare. A new portfolio was created, the Ministry of State for Social Development (MSSD), whose minister served as chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Social Development.

Under ideal conditions, this federal recognition of the concept of social development might have improved the prospects for the Council's social policy agenda. But conditions were not ideal. The return of the Liberals in February 1980 did not herald new social policy initiatives. The fourth Trudeau government was more concerned with energy policy, Quebec separatism, Western alienation, international issues and, especially, the Constitution.

The Constitution did, of course, have important social policy implications. The Prime Minister's insistence that the patriated Constitution contain an entrenched Charter of Human Rights had the support of the Council. Achieving that goal on April 15, 1982 was destined to be important to the Council's work leading to its involvement in legal challenges related to principles enshrined in the Charter.

The government also set up two formal bodies with important implications for social policy. One was the Parliamentary Task Force on Federal-Provincial Fiscal Arrangements (the Breau Committee), appointed in 1981 to make proposals relating to the troubled state of federal-provincial relations on fiscal, economic and political matters. The second body was the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects (the Macdonald Commission), appointed in 1982. Its appointment reflected widespread concern about the Canadian economy, which had not recovered from the energy-pricing crisis of the mid-70s, or from the high levels of unemployment, inflation and continued growth in governmental deficits which had emerged with it.

The government's social policies were adversely affected by the "envelope" approach within which, by 1981, social and economic development were combined. The allocation of new money did not favour social programs. Social policy was no longer made by ministers in the social development ministries to the same degree as in earlier periods.

Thus the November 1981 budget promised—but failed to deliver—major income redistribution that would favour low-income Canadians. It became evident that the principle of equity proclaimed in the Carter Commission's Report was being violated to at least as great a degree in 1981 as it was in the 1960s. The public became aware that money was being lost to the Treasury through "tax expenditures," tax exemptions and deferrals that primarily favoured wealthy individuals and corporations—in amounts reaching tens of billions of dollars! Finance Minister Allan MacEachen's

ill-fated budget, which the financial community attacked with ferocity similar to that directed at the Carter proposals, was ostensibly committed to a measure of equality. It turned out to offer little of substance for low-income earners. The budget claimed to recognize the tax system as the basic vehicle for redistributive social policy, but it failed in that goal and may have discouraged further endeavours to use tax reform as a major means of income redistribution.

Though devoid of new social policy initiatives, the Trudeau government in its final years offered some assurance that it would resist "the neo-conservative dismantlement approach," sometimes called "the farewell state approach." Conservative elements sought to dismantle and discard the social welfare programs associated with the welfare state. They formulated a neo-conservative, anti-welfare ideological position which would become more and more prominent during the decade in Canada and abroad. The advocates of dismantlement, notably those identified with the Fraser Institute,[38] achieved their greatest success in British Columbia. There the Social Credit Government used its claimed mandate for restraint in public spending to cut back or eliminate a range of programs supporting human rights, income maintenance and social services. Other provincial governments, such as Ontario, although avoiding any open statements of similar intent, had engaged in dismantlement by attrition, and there were grounds for fearing that this would also become the pattern at the federal level.

One of two contrary indicators was the enactment of the *Canada Health Act*, which dramatically halted the erosion of Canada's nationwide health system. More resistance to a regressive social policy at the federal level emerged in the race for the leadership of the Liberal Party during the final months of the last Trudeau administration. All of the seven candidates were emphatic in their rejection of neo-conservative social policies. All affirmed their support for retaining and strengthening social programs, and all endorsed the principle of universality.

The winner of that leadership contest, and for three months the Prime Minister, was John Turner. His tenure was too short to indicate what social policies he might have adopted. A less-than-favourable omen, however, was his refusal, as Minister of Finance back in 1975, to agree to the expenditures needed to proceed with the income supplementation strategy of the Social Security Review. That refusal lost the Review its opportunity to reconstruct Canada's social security programs. The Turner government did make one important structural change. It abolished the Ministry of State for Social Development, a demise not lamented by those in the social development field.

The election of Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservatives in September 1984, and again in November 1988, placed the Prime Minister in a strong position to mould government structures and policies to his personal ideology and to implement his election platforms. In particular, with his 1988 electoral majority he could claim a mandate to proceed with parliamentary approval of the Free Trade Agreement with the United States, which he had already signed as executive head of the government.

The nature of the mandate and Mulroney's intentions following his first election were more difficult to discern. It was clear that he could adhere to some of his electoral promises only at the expense of others. His promise to maintain the universal social programs as a "sacred trust" collided with his promises to reduce the size and cost of government, to encourage privatization and deregulation and, above all, to reduce the deficit. What wasn't clear was the degree of influence that extreme right-wing members of the Progressive Conservative Party would have on social policy.

The social policy record of the first Mulroney government revealed a perplexing mix of policy statements and actions. This applied to the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Jake Epp, who supported strengthening some income and social service programs as well as the national and international quality of life/health promotion work of his departmental officials. He also continued

the departmental tradition of allowing the National Council of Welfare, a quasi-independent advisory body, to continue with its work. As before, it communicated to the Canadian public its analyses of a range of issues concerning poverty and social policy. Its publications continued to be outspokenly critical of both federal and provincial actions—or lack of action!

In response to strong pressure from many groups across Canada, Jake Epp brought to Parliament the government's legislation on day care for children. However, the measure was widely criticized by the social development community for failing to deal adequately with the widespread need. When the bill died on the order paper with the dissolution of the 33rd Parliament, its critics hoped this would provide an opportunity for an improved measure in the next Parliament.

Other departments with social policy functions also had mixed records. The departments responsible for housing could report some promising measures, but the International Conference on Shelter for the Homeless, held in Ottawa in 1987, revealed the failure at all levels of government in Canada to develop and implement adequate social housing policies for vulnerable groups.

The Mulroney government referred the question of income support for the unemployed to the Forget Royal Commission, but declined to act on either its majority or minority reports until 1989, when it announced drastic and generally regressive changes to the *Unemployment Insurance Act*. The government also took no action on the Macdonald Commission's proposal for a universal income security program.

With the Department of Finance, the story was much the same. Its minister, Michael Wilson, seemed to be listening to the submissions of social agencies. In his second budget, he adopted at least one of the proposals of the Social Policy Reform Group, a coalition founded by the CCSD. This was the establishment of a refundable sales tax credit to assist low-income persons unable to claim

adequate benefits from other measures. But the net effect of all Wilson's between-election budgets, including the so-called tax reform budget of 1988, was to impose a heavier tax burden on the lowest income earners than they had borne before 1984. One of the most damaging policies was Wilson's cutback on the inflation indexing of Family Allowance benefits. And only a well-targeted public outcry against a similar cutback on Old Age Security convinced the Prime Minister that it would be too politically damaging. It became clear that no part of the social security system was secure unless the political cost posed a serious electoral threat.

Running the Council in the Eighties

During the first half of the 1980s, the Council found it especially difficult to secure the funds needed to run its programs at an acceptable level. This was partly because the problems and tensions of earlier periods were still unsolved. Some of these involved disagreements on how to divide resources in relation to severance arrangements that had been made in the 1970s with the former divisions of the Council. Moreover, the Council was losing members who had been connected with one or another of those divisions. Many did not identify with an organization that was largely engaged in research and advocacy on macro issues. Thus, the Council faced a major task of interpreting its new roles and structures to existing and potential members.

The Council worked to enlarge its membership throughout the decade. Different recruitment methods were employed with varying degrees of success. In 1988, ordinary membership stood at 1,600, corporate membership at 29 and labour union membership at 12. Much larger constituencies were reached by the Council through its special mailings to target groups and through those who subscribe to or otherwise have access to its publications.

During the mid-80s, the Board of Governors, whose members are elected for terms of one to three years by the membership on a regional basis at the Council's annual meetings, was reduced from

60 (which the Carver Commission had proposed 15 years earlier) to 39. The Board, the policy-making body of the Council, met twice a year during the 1980s. The Executive Committee, drawn from the Board, continued to consist of the president, the past-president, five regional vice-presidents and the treasurer, together with the executive director, serving as the secretary of the corporation. The Executive met four times a year, usually inviting the participation of the chairperson of the Program Committee and others to report on current endeavours of the Council. Rather than having standing committees, except for Program and Finance, the Council continued the practice of appointing special committees and task forces to meet as needed for designated tasks within given time periods.

The scarcity of resources in the early 1980s was inevitably reflected in reductions in the Council's staff, from more than 50 in the 1970s to fewer than 30 in 1982. As the Council's financial situation improved, however, it was able to recruit more full-time staff and to secure specialists on a contract basis for projects. Likewise, the bargaining climate between management and staff improved in the mid-80s and was not marked by the polarization of the 1970s, which had pitted the union against the executive director and the Board.

As in earlier periods, the Council experienced a turnover in its professional, administrative and communications staff. However, it was able to retain the services of both full-time and contract staff for sufficient periods to ensure a high quality of output. Some of the individuals who contributed to the Council's work through this period included:

Hector Balthazar
Denise Belair
Robert Bisson
Jean-Guy Carrier
Jean-Guy Desgagné
Chantal Goyette
MaryAnn McLaughlin
Nancy Colborne Perkins
Mary Powell
Audrey Quinn
Claude Quiviger
Jean-Bernard Robichaud

Melanie Hess
Karen Hill
Harvey Hodgson
Patrick Johnston
Dorothy Kearns
Harry MacKay
Linda MacLeod
Jan McClain
David Ross
Richard Shillington
Valerie Sims
Sherri Torjman
Richard Weiler
Pat Wesley
Doralice Loyer

Ms. Loyer quite appropriately earned plaudits as the Council's receptionist from the mid-60s until her retirement in 1988.

The tradition of strong presidential leadership of the Council also continued in the 1980s. The five presidents who served during the decade came, sequentially, from one of Canada's five regions: Mavis Hurley from the Atlantic region, Michael Clague from the British Columbia and Yukon region, Ralph Garber from Ontario, Anne Usher from Quebec and Linton Smith from the Prairies and Northwest Territories.

Each had extensive and varied backgrounds relevant to the Council's work. Mavis Hurley's principal experience was in senior management positions in government and quasi-government roles relating to health and welfare services. Michael Clague's experience was in community development and social policy, planning and research for the non-profit sector, and with the three levels of government. The latter included work for Senator David Croll's Special Committee on Poverty and the development of the successful and widely known Britannia Community Services Centre in Vancouver. In the mid-80s Clague became the executive director of the Social Policy and Research Council of British Columbia.

Ralph Garber, initially in social work in Montreal, had been dean of three North American faculties of social work and president of both the Canadian and International Associations of Schools of Social Work, as well as a member of many public and

voluntary boards and commissions. Anne Usher had worked in nursing, womens' rights, community development and consumer and citizen participation in health and social services delivery. She had also served on boards of voluntary organizations at local and national levels, including the Coalition of National Voluntary Organizations. Linton Smith had extensive community experience, particularly in the field of community legal aid. He was a judge in the Provincial Youth and Family Court and taught in the Human Justice Program at the University of Regina. Each of these five presidents, besides bringing strong regional knowledge and experience, had expressed and represented the Council's nationwide outlook on social development.

In the mid-80s, the Council decided to extend its work beyond research and advocacy. A number of developments indicated that the Council would be more effective if it took over some service and information activities from federal government departments, providing that this could be accomplished in harmony with the Council's social development mandate.

These activities included the administration of the Court Challenges Program, which helped launch legal challenges based on the Charter of Rights, and the extension of information services on self-help, family violence and social development issues. Both these areas required the Council to assume responsibilities that had been, or could have been, carried by federal departments. The Council had, therefore, to decide whether taking on these activities constituted tacit support for government divestment and privatization, which the Council had earlier criticized as symbols of an overall decline in social responsibility on the part of governments. After prolonged consideration, the Council decided to negotiate with the departments concerned and to agree to take over only those activities which it believed would not relieve the government of responsibilities it should continue to assume in the public interest.

By taking on the Court Challenges Program and the information services relating to self-help and family violence, the Council received funding that considerably improved its finances. It also benefited immeasurably from close association with the "law network," including individuals and groups concerned with minority language rights, which the Court Challenges Program promoted. This was also true of the close associations the Council developed with the large and very active "equality-seeking community."

The Council opened an office in Montreal to build its ties with social development interests in Quebec and to strengthen its francophone work and identity. Establishing regional offices had been recommended by Dr. Cassidy in 1946. It rapidly became evident that the Montreal office was not only contributing very effectively to the CCSD's work in Quebec, but was also adding a new dimension to the Council's nationwide endeavours. The Council also studied, but took no specific action on, requests for the establishment of offices in other regions.

The communications arm of the CCSD, as in earlier decades, was vital to the pursuit of the Council's objectives in the 1980s. Its publication program expanded at the beginning of the decade and the prediction in its 1980-1981 *Annual Report* that the Council would become "firmly established as a thriving publisher in the field of social development" was borne out by mid-decade. In 1988, the Council had a lengthy list of publications with three more in production: *The Self-Help Way*, *The Canadian Fact Book on Poverty, 1989* and *Organizing for the Homeless*.

Perception, which replaced *Canadian Welfare* and *Digeste social* in 1977, continued to be the Council's major bilingual periodical. It solicited articles expressing many points of view. For many years, editorial policy was guided by an advisory panel. In 1988 that approach was discontinued, and more emphasis was placed on ensuring coverage of the major social development issues of current concern. Thus, the spring issue of the journal

presented a review of the various issues, the Council's *Annual Report*, and summaries of all activities in which the Council had been engaged.

To provide up-to-date information on the activities of the Council and other current information, a newsletter, *Social Development Overview/Perspectives*, was launched in 1984. It reached a large readership and was frequently quoted and reprinted in community newspapers and newsletters. In 1987, as part of its newly assumed information function on self-help and family violence, the Council added two new bilingual publications. These two, *Initiative* and *Vis-à-vis*, as well as *Overview/Perspectives*, were published quarterly and provided free to members of the Council and to a wider audience of almost 50,000, including 700 media outlets. A fifth bilingual periodical, launched in 1988 and titled *ERN: Employability Resources Network/RAMPE : Ressources pour l'amélioration des possibilités d'emploi*, was designed to provide information about programs and projects to help make welfare recipients more job-ready.

Throughout the 1980s, the Council worked in several key areas:

- It dealt with developmental issues involving distinct groups, such as women with special needs, Native people, the disabled, dependent and abused children, and victims of crime.
- It worked for improvements in health and social services delivery.
- It analyzed the justice system as it affected both offenders and victims, and advocated constructive change.
- It examined the broad range of employment and income issues, and advocated reform policies for immediate and long-term implementation.
- It critically reviewed national structures, policies and processes affecting social development.

- It developed strategies and provided leadership to the human service community to prevent the dismantling of essential provincial and national social programs.

The struggle to maintain universality

Through numerous briefs, articles and appearances before parliamentary committees, the Council helped lead the resistance to the erosion of universality. Attacks on Canada's universal programs continued throughout the 1980s and came from abroad, notably the United States and the United Kingdom, as well as from within Canada. Agencies and groups across the country looked to the Council for leadership in counter-offensive strategies based on the socially and economically rational argument for universal social services. These services provide a safety net, and as social utilities are of importance to all Canadians.

The fight to maintain universality was accelerated when, without any prior public debate, the federal budget of 1989 began the process of extinguishing universality in respect both to Family Allowances and Old Age Security. Strong protests by the Council, the National Council of Welfare, the National Anti-Poverty Organization and many other organizations failed to reverse the government's decision. The Council felt that a battle had been lost, but that the war to restore the universal application of Canada's two great demogrant programs (family allowances and old age security) had only just begun.[39]

The Council's collaborative work

In the later years of the decade, the Council brought together colleagues through the "Last-Wednesday Group," a monthly meeting of national social organizations. With about 80 organizations on the mailing list and 20 to 25 participating more or less regularly, this meeting provided a forum for coordinating efforts of national groups. The Group worked in the struggles against de-indexing family benefits, the changes in the *Pharmaceuticals Act*, federal

budget provisions, the Free Trade Agreement and the Meech Lake Accord. With the Council's leadership, several outstanding initiatives emanated from the Group.

In 1979, the Council was one of the founding organizations of the Canadian Health Coalition, which included 39 national organizations and was responsible for having the Second Hall Commission appointed in 1984 to examine and make recommendations to restore the integrity of the national health care system. The Council sponsored a series of local workshops to review the extra billing issue and develop public consensus around the remedial legislation that it advocated during the controversial process which in 1984 won unanimous support in Parliament for the *Canada Health Act*. These workshops contributed to the pressure on the provinces to require physicians within the federal-provincial medicare plan not to charge patients extra fees. Thus, the central purpose of the *Canada Health Act* was achieved.

In 1984, the Council was a founding member of the Social Policy Reform Group (SPRG), which included the following organizations: Canadian Association of Social Workers, Canadian Council on Social Development, National Action Committee on the Status of Women, National Anti-Poverty Organization, National Council of Welfare, and the National Pensioners and Senior Citizens Federation. SPRG opened and maintained a constant dialogue with federal decision-makers on the impacts of changes in social spending and tax policy. SPRG was the focal point for pressure to convert tax deductions to credits, a change long advocated by both the Council and the National Council of Welfare.

Similarly, in the mid-80s, the Council initiated and coordinated a continuing series of informal consultations between senior finance department officials and the social services community in order to sensitize the "budget drafters" to the problems of the disadvantaged. And also in 1984, the Council became a co-founder with the Canadian Council on Children and Youth of a coalition of

organizations known as the YOA (*Young Offenders Act*) Table, which reviewed and coordinated national voluntary sector activity related to young offenders.

In 1988, the Council was a founding organizer of a coalition of groups interested in child welfare. This coalition raised the issue of child poverty to national prominence and played a major role in the Council's plan to develop and promote a Charter of Children's Rights in the early 1990s. The proposed Charter was designed to inform and inspire a groundswell of action to deal with what many consider Canada's most pressing social problem.[10]

Constitutional and international issues

Among the most important social development questions of the decade were those related to the adoption of the Canadian Constitution of 1982, the Meech Lake Accord and the 1989 Free Trade Agreement with the United States. Decisions made in these matters determine the structure of governmental institutions, the relative powers of the federal and provincial governments, and the capacity of the federal government to protect or extend social and economic benefits to groups of people or regions that have special needs. Accordingly, the Council undertook to develop positions on these important structural questions.

In 1980, the Council prepared an extensive brief as part of the national debate on having the Constitution patriated from the British Parliament to the Parliament of Canada with an entrenched Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The Council supported the entrenchment of human rights, knowing that this meant giving the courts powers otherwise exercised by the various legislatures. That decision was based on the Council's observation, over its long history, of the flagrant denial of human rights by a number of Canadian legislatures. In addition to supporting the government's proposed Charter, the Council sought to have it include social rights, arguing that there was precedent in the United Nations Human Rights Charter of 1948 for such inclusion. The Council

and other social agencies were unsuccessful in this, and also in attempting to influence the government to strengthen the mobility rights provision of the Charter. The provision in question permitted provinces to retain "laws providing for reasonable residency requirements as a qualification for the receipt of publicly provided social services." The Council felt this could undo the provisions in a number of federal acts, including the Canada Assistance Plan, that had largely succeeded in ending the baneful reign of the old residency laws.

Following the patriation of the Constitution, the Council sponsored an expert task force to explore the potential impact of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms on social policy and legislation. Perhaps it was this indication of an in-depth interest in the Charter, together with the Council's reputation for non-partisan integrity, that caused the federal government to invite the Council to administer the Court Challenges Program.

The Council made important contributions to that program. During the five-year period initially authorized by the federal government, the Council:

- promoted strategic collaboration among equality-seeking groups, resulting in a consensus to adopt, as their legal strategy, the concept of *equality of status* among people in like situations, rather than *equality of treatment*;
- devised the idea of case development funding in order to get funds to relatively unorganized and disfranchised groups so they could plan strategy and seek appropriate cases;
- saw its mandate as going beyond the neutral strategy of "clarifying" the scope and intent of Section 15 of the Charter. Accordingly, it employed a strategy of "extending equality rights" through funding "intervenors" to ensure that arguments for a progressively widening interpretation of "equality" would prevail, both with respect to language and equality areas. There is substantial evidence that the cases

the program identified and brought before the courts were, in fact, leading to broader interpretations of Section 15, and that this would have major long-term importance.

The Meech Lake Accord

The Council's interest in the Constitution also gave it a basis for making an informed appraisal of the Meech Lake Accord when it was suddenly proposed by the First Ministers in April 1987. The Council viewed many aspects of the Accord as eroding the 1982 Constitutional protection of the rights of women, Native people and ethnic minorities, and as weakening federal influence on spending in shared-cost programs. Accordingly, the Council, in association with 10 other national organizations, immediately appealed to the Prime Minister and provincial Premiers to have the Accord, which was still in draft form, treated as the basis for a full public consultation rather than as a resolution to put before Parliament and provincial legislatures.

When this request was summarily dismissed, the Council next secured expert advice from Dr. John D. Whyte, the Dean of Law of Queen's University, on the provisions relating to shared-cost programs. His conclusion was that the lack of clarity and precision in the terms used in the Accord would cause it to be "simultaneously damaging to provincial jurisdictions and damaging to federal initiatives in developing national social policy." This informed opinion constituted a major part of the Council's second submission to the Prime Minister, which called for the spending power clause to "be deferred for two years after the proclamation of the Accord and be subject to an interpretative document." This appeal was also rejected, as was the Council's next move, a strong submission to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on the Accord. The Committee's majority report gave the Accord unqualified support. The dissenting policy positions of the Council and of the other reputable groups that opposed aspects of the Accord were either ignored or trivialized.

The Council also presented its submission to the Ontario and New Brunswick Legislative Committees on the Accord. It said that the basic interests of the provinces and individual Canadians would be jeopardized by the constitutional changes the Accord embodied.

The Council was determined to do what it could to lessen the potential damage to national social policy of the spending power provisions of the Accord. Therefore, it convened an expert committee to explore what would constitute "compatibility with national objectives" for a province wanting to opt out of a new federal shared-cost measure under the terms of the Accord. The committee's findings were conveyed to a number of governments, which gave non-committal responses, perhaps because implementation of the Accord was becoming doubtful.

The Free Trade Agreement

The proposal that Canada seek a free trade agreement with the United States became a national issue soon after the election of the first Mulroney government. The idea received wide media coverage in 1984 when Donald Macdonald, in advance of the completion of the work of the Macdonald Commission, publicly stated his view that the prospects for Canada's economic future were poor and would remain so unless Canada became part of a North American free trade area.

This endorsement of closer economic ties with the United States by a former Liberal cabinet minister was welcomed by the Prime Minister, whose business career had been characterized by numerous economic and social links with the U.S. At an historic meeting in Quebec City on March 18, 1985, the Prime Minister and U.S. President Ronald Reagan laid the basis for a trade agreement that would "reduce and eliminate existing barriers to trade in order to secure and facilitate trade and investment flows." On October 4, 1987, the two governments signed an accord setting out the

elements of a bilateral agreement, and in December, the Canadian government tabled the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in the House of Commons.

Through 1988, the proposed Agreement gained growing attention. Its impacts on Canadian sovereignty and on economic, cultural and social policy became the subjects of intense and divisive debate. The two opposition parties in Parliament launched strong attacks against it. Nationalist groups and most cultural organizations called for its defeat, as did many who spoke for social programs. It became the primary issue in the 1988 federal election campaign. Even though a majority of Canadians voted for candidates whose parties opposed the FTA, the Progressive Conservative Party again gained a substantial majority in the House of Commons. The new government thereby obtained the mandate it needed to remove any remaining obstacles to enacting the Agreement.

This important issue deserved and received the Council's sustained attention. In November 1987, it issued a preliminary statement on the possible ramifications of the proposed agreement. Later, it posed several questions to the government for response and clarification, and in March 1988, with financial support from the Laidlaw Foundation, it organized an expert seminar on the FTA in collaboration with Dr. Glenn Drover of the School of Social Work of the University of British Columbia. Both opponents and supporters of the FTA participated in the seminar. The papers presented were published by the Council in a compilation entitled *Free Trade and Social Policy*. This 150-page book contributed to the debate on the Agreement, by providing one of the first systematic investigations of it.

The Council's Board of Governors considered the FTA issue in June 1988 and again at a special two-day meeting three months later. A number of experts spoke to the Board on a variety of free trade and social policy questions to help inform the Board's debate and deliberations.

Following the two-day meeting, the Council published the *Board of Governor's Statement on the Free Trade Agreement and Social Policy*. It expressed "strong concerns about the implications of the Agreement for social development in Canada." The Board "concluded that the FTA will have far-reaching and unpredictable effects on Canada's economy, on social programs and on the social policy processes through which Canada responds to the needs of its citizens... The CCSD is not satisfied that in the FTA environment Canada's existing social programs will be safeguarded... More importantly, the FTA could encumber the future social development process." The Board's statement cited numerous dangers posed by the Agreement which contributed to its decision that "unless these concerns are allayed, the CCSD cannot support the Agreement."

Although the FTA was enacted on January 1, 1989, the Council's September statement and the work that preceded it have lasting value. In the statement the Board reiterated what it called Canada's fundamental social principles:

- Canadian legislative sovereignty, especially in social policy;
- universality of access to basic social and health programs;
- respect for equality rights as guaranteed under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms;
- income security and labour standards;
- respect for Aboriginal and treaty rights;
- public participation in improving social conditions and in public decision-making;
- standards for social programs to meet basic levels of need, and to ensure efficient, open and non-discriminatory allocation of benefits;
- respect for human rights, including the right to adequate living standards and to social security, as contained in international instruments to which Canada is a party.

The Council developed plans to monitor the FTA in order to warn against and, as far as possible, prevent actions that were out of harmony with these principles. The process involved regional as well as national surveillance. A conference under the Council's auspices on the impact of the FTA on the province of Quebec, was held in the spring of 1990 in Montreal. The evidence presented confirmed the Council's concerns about the long-term effects of FTA on the most vulnerable groups in communities across the country. A report was published as a special autumn 1990 issue of *Overview/Perspectives*.

Groups and persons with special needs

The existence of autonomous specialized social agencies, some of which had once been CCSD divisions, did not diminish the council's concern for disadvantaged groups and individuals. Indeed, collaboration with such agencies remained one of the Council's priorities. In addition, the Council undertook research and advocacy on:

- women in the Canadian economy and society;
- women with special needs, especially victims of violence within the family;
- Native people, touching on the social problems they experience in rural and urban settings and on the macro issues of their Aboriginal and treaty rights;
- the physically and mentally disabled;
- dependent and abused children;
- victims of crime;
- the homeless.

Along these lines, some of the Council's work during the 1980s included the preparation of submissions and publications on Indian child welfare (including *Native Children and the Child Welfare System*), a submission to the Parliamentary Committee on the

Disabled and Handicapped, and the publication of books and pamphlets on the status of women. The Council sponsored a meeting of representatives from transition houses and shelter associations across Canada with a view to developing a national organization, and it joined forces with five other national organizations to urge governments to invest more resources in families with children. In 1987, it co-sponsored the International Conference on Shelter for the Homeless.

Delivery of health and social services

Throughout the 1980s, the Council continued its strong interest in the delivery of health and social services. As already noted, its work for the enactment of the *Canada Health Act* in 1984 was influential. In the same year, it conducted local public forums on the future of health care in Canada, and in 1985 the Council sponsored a national conference on "Improving the Delivery of Community-based Health and Social Services." This well-attended conference helped prepare Canadians for their important work in the World Health Organization's primary health care movement.

A Council initiative in 1989 with the potential for long-term effects on the delivery of health and social services was the launching of the Social Services Information Exchange (SSIE). The centrepiece of this multi-faceted endeavour was the quarterly periodical *Social Services Sociaux*. In collaboration with the provinces, territories and municipalities, the Council appointed contact persons to obtain information for the quarterly publication, which included social statistics, information on policy development, social programs, community services research and various social trends.

The law and social development

The evolution of the Canadian Welfare Council's Division on Corrections into the separate and autonomous Canadian Correctional Association in 1975 (now the Canadian Criminal Justice Association) reduced the Council's work in that field. As mentioned earlier, however, the Council felt impelled to devote

attention and resources to the relationship between the justice system and social development in the 1970s and increasingly in the 1980s. Its interest extended to particular categories of offenders as well as to the victims of crime. The latter had received little attention until the Council began addressing their concerns in the mid-80s. The Council helped bring about improvements in the *Young Offenders Act* and in policy approaches to the mental health needs of victims of crime. It also developed proposals on the complex question of access to justice and the barriers that disadvantaged Canadians faced in their efforts to get equal treatment within the justice system. The Council provided a positive approach to this usually negatively viewed subject by developing the concept of "crime prevention through social development." This concept began to gain acceptance both nationally and internationally.

Employment, income security and social services

Employment and income security were primary concerns of the Council throughout the 1980s, although it was not a propitious time for such concerns. The provinces were largely unresponsive to the evidence the Council presented of their failure to honour the spirit of the Canada Assistance Plan. All of them, in varying degrees, had allowed levels of assistance to fall below the poverty line, and the administration of social assistance still bore some marks of the discredited Poor Laws of earlier times.

The federal government, seeking remedies for the income security and social service failures of the 1970s, set up the Macdonald and Forget Commissions as well as various parliamentary enquiries. Until after the election of November 1988, it did not act on their recommendations. Instead, it seemed to pin its hopes for income security on improvements in the economic situation, the adoption of the Free Trade Agreement and the effect of large oil and gas projects in British Columbia, Alberta and off the Atlantic Coast. In response to this policy vacuum, the Council sought to develop flexible strategies to influence public policy along rational and humane lines. It continued to monitor changes in the

economy, especially with respect to employment, and it evaluated current public policy in light of domestic and international data. Council officials presented well-researched submissions to government and parliamentary committees. They met with ministers and senior officials of government departments and proposed developmental measures and undertook collaborative ventures funded by the departments. The Council continually advanced well-defined proposals, such as refundable tax credits, to meet identifiable income, employment and social service needs.

In addition to advocacy on specific issues or in response to particular news events, the Council developed comprehensive and interlinked proposals in what was named and publicized as the Work and Income in the Nineties project (WIN). The tripartite WIN project had a number of immediate objectives, but it was primarily designed to give direction to social development in the 1990s.

WIN I, the project's first phase, focussed on income security reform. It was built upon research, analyses and consultations carried out in 1987. It also drew upon the Council's work dating back to the 1970s and capitalized on the attention sparked by the Macdonald Commission's income support measures. WIN I continued to refine and make the case for a basic income program.

WIN II related to employment, but linked income security measures to its analysis of the "Future of Work," one component of WIN. To include a wide range of perspectives on the "Future of Work," the Council convened a national forum in Ottawa in May 1989. It brought together 60 senior people from the business, labour, government, social development and education sectors for consultation and discussion. The organizers hoped to, and did to a substantial extent, find consensus on how to deal with changing labour markets and the changing nature of work and unemployment.

WIN III turned from income and employment to social services. Since the collapse of the Social Services Initiative of the federal-provincial Social Security Review of the late 1970s, no comprehensive consideration of Canadian social services had been carried out. The Council proposed to take on this important task, beginning with a complete review on which to develop a framework for research, policy formulation and program planning.

The magnitude of the issues involved in the totality of the WIN concept suggested that the entire decade might be needed to achieve its objectives. The goal was a country with full employment for all who are employable, income support for those with unmet income needs, and a range of personal and community social services appropriate to the increasingly complex and hazardous society of the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

The Hunsley years in review

Although the major events of the 1980s that called for responses from the Council have been analyzed earlier in this chapter, there is merit in recalling the general character of the decade from the point of view of social policy. It has frequently been described as a decade of greed and neglect, and substantial evidence for that sombre appraisal is readily available. In Britain and the United States, the values and programs identified with Beveridge and Roosevelt came under increasing attack and in 1984, with the election of a government headed by Brian Mulroney, a comparable erosion of the values associated with a half century of development of human service programs began to appear in Canada.

In the 1970s and early 1980s, Canada's social welfare system, in its totality, contributed remarkably well to the needs of Canadians and public opinion polls repeatedly affirmed that it—and the principle of universality which it largely honoured—were among the most highly prized aspects of Canadian society. Accordingly, when Brian Mulroney ran for election as Prime Minister in 1984,

he referred to maintaining the universality of the social programs "as a sacred trust." But it was soon evident that his commitment was not to be honoured. Indeed, a provision in an early budget of Minister of Finance Michael Wilson would have begun a progressive reduction of payments to the aged under the Old Age Security program. Only a highly publicized attack on the Prime Minister for this breach of faith caused the removal of the measure from the budget.

This proved, however, to be the only effective outcry against what became the systematic dismantling of the social welfare system. The muted response was due to a change in the tactics of the government. Its new approach was to employ hard-to-recognize, if not clandestine, means to erode or terminate existing welfare programs. The methods employed were to use the taxation system and other measures under the control of the Department of Finance. To this end, social policy-making was quietly shifted from the Department of Health and Welfare and other human resource departments to the Finance ministry.

The taxation and related measures carried out year after year in the execution of the plan were of profound significance, and the government's Orwellian explanations of them made the emerging changes incomprehensible to the general public and, indeed, to all but a few social policy analysts and agencies. The social policy agencies, notably the Canadian Council on Social Development and the National Council of Welfare together with a coalition of health professionals, that understood what was happening were unable to mobilize public opinion, and the opposition parties in Parliament seemed powerless to protect the system that they had earlier created.

The result, through what was aptly described as "social policy by stealth," was the replacement of much of the pre-existing system with an ideologically contrasting one. Its primary manifestations were devolution, deregulation and privatization. They involved the repudiation of public responsibility for structurally

caused social problems affecting individuals, families and communities, and the substitution of *laissez faire* economics. This, at its extreme, involved the assertion that social welfare needs can essentially be met by the market, or where bottom-line considerations do not attract the market, by private charity.

The continuous external stress exerted on the Council during the 1980s from negative government policies made the Council's strong record of accomplishment during the decade a tribute to its Board of Governors, its staff and its executive director. To a very substantial degree, it was attributable to the knowledge, sound judgment and well-focussed plans of action that characterized Terry Hunsley's leadership.

Those qualities are evident in the foregoing record and require little elaboration. Hunsley secured the confidence of the five CCSD presidents with whom he served, and together with them, the Executive Committee, the Board of Governors and his staff associates, forged the policy and administrative strategies that maintained the Council's effectiveness during years when many of the initiatives and values cherished by the Council were under accelerating external attack. To accomplish its mandate, the Council constantly had to develop, present and promote research-based policy statements and proposals, and Terry Hunsley played the key role in this demanding function. He enjoyed the respect and confidence of the peer group of leaders in research, policy development and management in the government, voluntary and private sectors. Consequently, he was able to achieve a remarkable degree of consensus on the social policy approaches required both nationally and internationally to meet the challenges of the decade.

Seven

Into the Nineties: Valerie Sims, 1990-1991

The five years from 1990 to 1995 tested the very survival of the Council, making its continuing record of social policy leadership and its strength and dynamic posture on the eve of its 75th birthday seem miraculous.

During this time, the Council had three presidents and three executive heads. The presidents were Linton J. Smith, Jean Panet-Raymond and Sharon Manson Singer. Its executive directors were Valerie Sims, Patrick Johnston and David Ross, the current director.

Linton Smith's term (1989-1991) had begun in the 1980s and his background prior to his election was touched on earlier. His professional credentials, community service, work as a family court

judge and educator equipped him fittingly for the demanding roles he was called upon to play, both as president and, in the years 1993 to 1995, as a strongly supportive past president.

Jean Panet-Raymond (1991-1993), with degrees in law and social work from the University of Montreal and Columbia University, brought to the Council a strong background of community service and social action. His career as a community development educator included a period at Warwick University in England and culminated in his appointment as director of the School of Social Service at the University of Montreal. Of the Council's 30 presidents in its 75-year history, Jean Panet-Raymond was one of 10 from the province of Quebec and the sixth French Canadian. Following his resignation from the CCSD in 1994, he became the first president of the Quebec Council on Social Development.

Sharon Manson Singer (1993-1995), with credentials in social work education from the universities of Victoria, British Columbia and Brandeis, has two appointments in the University of British Columbia: one as a faculty member in the School of Social Work, and another as a research associate in the School of Community and Regional Planning. Manson Singer's highly developed skills in community work, research and communication are extensively engaged in federally financed, nationwide research projects and by the Government of British Columbia through appointments to the Board of British Columbia Hydro, and work with major social policy committees. Her broad experience in these areas has been called upon during her CCSD presidency to meet the exceptional demands of the Council's financial crisis (necessitating the sale of 55 Parkdale Avenue, the CCSD's headquarters since 1956), the resignation of Quebec members of the Board of Governors, the move to new offices in the centre of Ottawa, the restructuring of the Council's staffing and financial management, and the preservation and enhancement of the Council's reputation as Canada's leading social policy association.

Valerie Sims

Appointed acting executive director of the Council in October 1990, Valerie Sims was very appropriately qualified for social policy leadership. She had gained her academic and professional qualifications in economics, social administration and social work at Concordia University, the London School of Economics and McGill University. Her direct service experience in English cities and Montreal preceded an extensive and varied career in the public service of Canada. With Employment and Immigration and the Department of Labour, she carried senior roles in research and planning and the administration of major programs in their developmental stage.

Sims had come to the CCSD in 1986 through the Executive Interchange Program. Through her work as director of Research and Planning, she contributed to the Council's ongoing endeavours and to its strategic planning for the 1990s. She made solid contacts with members of the Board of Governors and the Executive Committee, and in regard to some aspects of the Council's work she also stayed in touch with Terry Hunsley, with whom an agreement had been worked out for his return to the Council as a policy associate after a "sabbatical" period spent partly abroad and partly in Ottawa.

Financial and staffing issues

Valerie Sims moved comfortably into the executive role, and she did it during a difficult period for the Council, internally and externally. From the outset, the state of the Council's finances posed a threat to its capacity to maintain existing staff, even though the number of personnel seemed modest in relation to demands on the Council's services. Although the Council had enjoyed a surplus in 1989, a number of expenditures, notably the purchase of a building to house the Council's Montreal office, combined with a significant reduction in income from grants, resulted

in a deficit on current operations of over $150,000 by March 1990 and a projected deficit for the fiscal year 1990-91 of nearly $200,000.

Measures to address this situation, described in a memorandum from Valerie Sims to the CCSD Board of Governors, included the elimination of seven full-time positions, an action resisted by members of the staff organization on the grounds that, among other things, it would "undermine the Council's ability to develop and promote progressive social policies, as set out in our Mission Statement."[41]

The Mission Statement

Early on in Valerie Sims's term as executive director a meeting of the CCSD Board and staff was convened for the specific purpose of developing a succinct document which would encapsulate the nature of the Council's historic rationale, its moral commitments and its explicit objectives. This followed a survey of CCSD members across the country on their priorities for social policies for the 1990s. The day-long meeting, held November 23, 1990, proved to be a stimulating exercise in bringing together wide-ranging views on the Council's past and present endeavours, and the principles, practices and objectives that should characterize its ongoing work. The session's proceedings were forwarded to the Executive Committee for the formulation of a final version which was approved on March 2, 1991.

As a landmark accomplishment, the Mission Statement, as well as appearing in Appendix 5, is presented herewith:

> The Canadian Council on Social Development is a voluntary, non-profit organization whose mission is to develop and promote progressive social policies inspired by social justice, equality and the empowerment of individuals and communities through research, consultation, public education and advocacy.

> We believe in the right to economic security and an adequate standard of living for all, universal access to basic social and health programs, public participation in improving social conditions, and a fair and compassionate society with equal rights for all.

National Consortium of Voluntary Social Planning Organizations

It was also during this period that the proposal for the establishment of a National Consortium of Voluntary Social Planning Organizations took the form of a specific project for which funding was sought from the National Welfare Grants program. This proposal called for the establishment of a network of provincial and community social planning associations linked through a steering committee with a coordinator working out of the CCSD. The purposes of the proposed organization included the heightening of information sharing on local and national research and trends data, the provision of opportunities for joint advocacy and, in respect to the CCSD, increased ability to respond to issues identified by the provincial and local organizations.

The case for establishing the Consortium was strengthened by shrinking public funding for social planning organizations and, consequently, the need for more effective, more coordinated and more visible outcomes of their work. While the proposal did not bear fruit, its potential value remains, and the establishment of a provincial social planning council in Quebec increases the number of provincial councils, adding force to the challenge of linking provincial and local councils across the country, with the CCSD playing a coordinating role.

The well-being of Aboriginal children

Social policy affecting Aboriginal people was part of the Council's ongoing agenda and was a longstanding interest both of Valerie Sims, who had developed constructive relations with Aboriginal groups, and the Council's president at the time, Linton

Smith. A particular concern was the well-being of Aboriginal children, and in June 1991 the Council was able to collaborate with the Assembly of First Nations in convening a "Spring Workshop." Besides focussing considerable media attention on the social problems faced by Aboriginal children and youth, the workshop helped to forge working connections between Native and non-native people on the range of issues identified during the day-long meeting.

The impact of the 1991 federal budget

The event calling for the most urgent social policy response was the advent of the federal budget of February 1991. This budget constituted the execution of the government's intention—increasingly apparent in the late 1980s—to reverse the social policies, programs and structures which had been incrementally developed, with strong public support, during the Second World War and succeeding years until the election of the Progressive Conservatives in 1984.

The Council launched an information and lobbying attack to warn the public of the impact of the budget and to mobilize the health and welfare community in a campaign to prevent the unamended passage of the budget legislation. A forceful *Communiqué/ News Alert* to all CCSD members outlined the specifics of the budget, noting that it:

- reduced entitlements under unemployment insurance and scaled back alternative training programs;
- placed a below-inflation cap on increases in federal payments under the Canada Assistance Plan for the three "richest" provinces (Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia), notwithstanding the massive increase anticipated in social assistance caused by the cutbacks in unemployment insurance and the decimation of Canadian industries arising from the Free Trade Agreement with the United States;

- continued the federal withdrawal from subsidized housing for the poor and the homeless;
- cut federal grants to a range of organizations, including many in the voluntary sector that depended on core funding to carry out their missions;
- set in motion the phased reduction of transfer payments to provinces for medicare and post-secondary education (a policy that would call for unrelenting resistance by the Council and the social development community at large).

In addition to identifying the specific measures in the budget relating to social policy, the communiqué also outlined their long-term implications, noting further that it:

- put at risk the national health insurance system that had stood as a key component in the lives of Canadians, contributing both socially and economically to the well-being of the Canadian state;
- negated the fundamental values and principles regarding basic rights and social entitlements—to health, to security, to equality, to access to life's essentials—espoused by the CCSD for over 70 years;
- ignored the inequalities characteristic of the existing distribution of income and wealth in Canada, and was certain to lead to further increases in economic inequalities and poverty.

The communiqué referred to the budget as an "affront to Canadian values of fairness and social justice."

Relations with federal officials

Throughout the Council's history, its vigorous and frequent criticism of governmental policies did not, in general, result in damaged relationships with federal officials in the social development

departments. Constructive linkages with departmental officials were established and maintained by Council staff in research, communications, information and finance as well as in regard to specific programs such as Family Violence, Self-help, Court Challenges and the Employability Resources Network.

Especially noteworthy were the meetings Terry Hunsley had initiated with federal deputy ministers in the key social development and resource ministries. These took the form of evening dinner meetings, carried on in a relaxed atmosphere in which specific aspects of the Council's work were presented and members of the Executive Committee and senior Council staff had opportunities for individual discussions with the top federal officials. Valerie Sims's background in federal ministries was a great advantage in maintaining these vital relations. In March 1991, as a lead up to a further meeting with the "mandarins," she shared with members of the Executive Committee her communications with Arthur Kroeger, a senior deputy minister who had supported the close relations with CCSD. The following excerpts from the document she sent to Arthur Kroeger provides a good summation of her period as acting executive director.

> The following two documents have been approved by the Board of Governors of the CCSD. They establish the future policy and organizational direction of the Council.
>
> **1. Draft Report: Implementation of Board Priorities for the Nineties**
>
> This is summation of our 3-year strategic planning process. Based on cross-country consultations with our membership and others, the Board has selected eight priority issues and some overarching major themes to guide our work in the next three years.

Priority Issues

- Poverty (especially among children)
- Employment (supply and quality of jobs, training, employment)
- Justice (racism; Native self-government; social rights equity)
- Violence (in society, especially family violence)
- Education (literacy; access to education and life-long learning)
- Housing (supply of affordable, adequate and accessible housing; homelessness)
- Social services (child care, dependent care, community-based services)
- Health (preservation of universal system of health care; promotion of healthy communities)

Overarching Themes

- Personal and community empowerment
- Healthy, just and sustainable development/ integrated policies
- Coalition building and strategic alliances

In November 1990, the Board approved the grouping of the CCSD's work into four specific policy areas within which teams would develop strategies and programs to give effect to the priorities. These four areas are:

- Economic security (in particular, poverty)
- Employment (broadly defined to include labour market policies and programs)
- Justice (a broad area of law and social development including social rights, Aboriginal self-determination, family violence, crime prevention and Charter-related matters)
- Access to life's essentials (in particular, affordable housing and food, but also, instrumentally, to health, social services and learning opportunities)

2. Report on the Board Staff Planning Workshop

Every 10 years the Board reviews the mission and areas of emphasis of the organization. This latest organizational review was done in a process leading up to a Board-Staff workshop in November 1990.

A Mission Statement was developed which was approved by the Executive Committee meeting on March 1, 1991. A number of priorities and goals were also identified for five areas of organizational emphasis:

- Communication
- Fundraising
- Resource allocation
- Collaboration with other groups/partners
- Board-staff partnership

As determined one year ago, the strategic orientation of the Council is to be more focussed in its work, to be involved yet more closely with community development, and to pursue a collaborative role with others in the social development field.

We are now implementing these directions. The intent is for the process of organizational change to enable the Council to carry out its mission more effectively and to focus its work on a set of priorities established regularly by the Board, after consultation with a broad constituency.

Following her term as acting executive director, Valerie Sims continued her association with the Council as a part-time policy associate, specializing in Aboriginal issues. Although she formally retired from the Council early in 1995, she continued to undertake special assignments such as coordinating and reporting on the

Roundtables that were developed in the fall of 1995 to consider the implications of the Canada Health and Social Transfer Program (CHST).

Eight

Patrick Johnston, 1991-1994

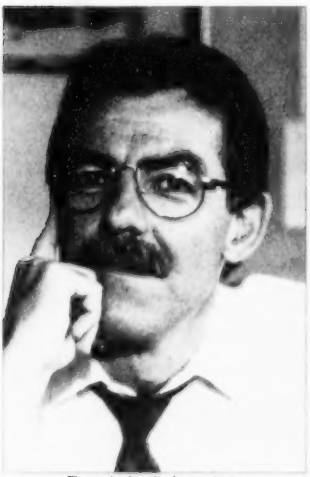
Patrick Johnston, appointed executive director by the Council's Board of Governors in August 1991, had impressive credentials for the post. He had attained academic and professional qualifications at York, Queen's and the University of Toronto, and was comfortably bilingual. His experience included work in child and youth services and, having become familiar with Aboriginal issues, he counted among his numerous publications an important book on Indian child welfare, *Native Children and the Child Welfare System*.[42] He had acquired administrative experience in the mid-1970s as the executive director of a youth services agency in Richmond, British Columbia, and again as executive director, had taken on the task from 1982 to 1986 of restoring the ailing National Anti-Poverty Organization (NAPO) to solvency and effectiveness. He next held, sequentially, two important posts in Ontario as a senior policy adviser. The first involved coordinating the research and policy analysis of a committee reviewing Ontario's social assistance system. In the second, Johnston was an adviser to

the Premier of Ontario and a liaison between the Premier, Cabinet ministers, MPPs, civil servants, other levels of government, interest groups and the public.

In addition to this broad government and non-government experience at community, provincial and national levels, Johnston had long-standing connections with the CCSD. From May 1980 to August 1982, he had served as program director at the Council, where he was engaged in policy analysis and research on national social service and health issues and the monitoring of major federal and provincial policy developments. Clearly, the CCSD was once again fortunate in securing a person with the qualities needed for social policy leadership at what was to be a critical juncture in the Council's history.

Financial issues

From the time of Johnston's appointment to the end of 1992, profound changes affected the Council's situation and the decisions required to deal with them. The main cause was the federal government's decision to terminate the CCSD's sustaining grant at the end of the 1992-1993 fiscal year. The amount of the final grant was $520,000, and the loss of it, for future years, would require major modifications in every aspect of the Council's organization, from the number and deployment of its staff to the size of its Board of Governors and the proprietary enjoyment of its offices. Many of these changes would have been required under even the most favourable circumstances.


Patrick Johnston

The circumstances in which the Council found itself were far from favourable, however. Declining

revenues from all sources were set against obligations that included severance and separation settlements for departing staff and the rising cost of maintaining office buildings in both Ottawa and Montreal. By March 1992, the operating shortfall for 1991-92 stood at $275,000 and the combined operating and capital deficit was close to $600,000.

Although the CCSD's program priorities outlined in Valerie Sims's communication to Arthur Kroeger were being followed and the programs were proceeding favourably, Johnston, Council President Jean Panet-Raymond, Past President Linton Smith and members of the Executive Committee found it necessary to be in frequent communication on urgent reconstructive actions. Beginning at its meeting in November 1991 and continuing at meetings in June and November 1992, the Board of Governors was called upon to make some of the most sweeping decisions in the Council's history.

The *PARD Report*

The decisions centred on two documents associated with the Council's relationship with the federal government. The first was an evaluation of the Council contained in the *Program Audit and Review Report* (PARD). This review combined the findings of previous assessments requested by the government, which had been conducted by Sherri Torjman, a social policy researcher who had done contract work on income security with the Council and had experience with the National Council of Welfare and the Caledon Institute as well as the international management consulting firm of Deloitte Touche. The purpose of the *PARD Report* was to guide the government on its funding in the social policy area. In regard to the Council, the report related to its sustaining grant and the special initiatives grant, the latter having provided support for the Family Violence Initiative and the Self-help program.

Much of the *PARD Report* was favourable to CCSD and recognized the highly important role it had played throughout its history. At the same time, it expressed reservations about the Council's current policy stance and its organizational effectiveness. These are reflected in the following excerpt from its report:

> CCSD's broad mandate is enabling, allowing the organization to respond to social issues and to provide an independent national perspective on these issues. However, the absence of a clear purpose or a clear focus raises questions about what this organization is attempting to accomplish. Where resources are limited, it also raises questions of whether there is an adequate basis for resource allocation and whether this is carried out in a cost effective manner.[43]

The Bouchard offer

The second federal document crucial to the formulation of the Council's plan of action was a letter from the minister of National Health and Welfare, Benoit Bouchard, dated March 31, 1992. Although it emphasized that the sustaining grant would, indeed, be terminated at the end of the 1992-1993 fiscal year, it held out the promise of a new type of funding if the Council were to qualify to become what was referred to as a "social policy and research institute."

Much of the planning for the Council's future in 1993 consequently centred on the prospect of acquiring the federally funded research entity. In support of its credibility to undertake the role, the Council could cite its substantial accomplishments in research, dating at least from 1971 and more recently in the work of David Ross and others in developing an international and national data base on family economic security, a project funded by the Laidlaw Foundation.

In a memorandum dated May 15, 1992, to members of the CCSD, the president and executive director cautioned against assuming that this source of federal funding would be obtained and, accordingly, stated that "we are preparing for the possibility that within a year the CCSD will receive no federal financial support for our ongoing operating costs."

In order to explore all aspects of the question, however, the Executive Committee formed a six-person task force to produce a paper to assist the Board of Governors in its response to the government on the research proposal. The paper, *A Template for Decision-Making*, was ready for the Board's June meeting, and although designed for "discussion, revisions and decision-making," it presented one specific model for consideration. The model favoured the Council adopting a clear focus on "poverty and income security and employment issues" and stated that "if we had this priority in place, we would not continue in the area of Family Violence, nor Self-help or Aboriginal issues," and "in the communications field, we would not publish books, magazines or newsletters which did not have poverty as the main emphasis... The focus on poverty, income security and employment would be used as a template for decision-making, and would guide the Council in choosing projects, accepting tasks and responding to issues."

The template with its suggested model proved to be a timely document for serious reflection and decisions on what the Council should stand for in order to maintain its well-earned public esteem associated with its commitment to a broad definition of social development. Consideration of the question in small group discussions on June 13, 1992, resulted in the feeling that the template model fell short of what the Council had committed itself to in its Mission Statement and that the model must be substantially revised, even if that might jeopardize recognition of the Council as the federal government's designated social policy research entity. Accordingly, a revised version of the template was presented in a new document, "the Peppermint Paper." This version made the

Mission Statement its centrepiece and referred to "our broad mandate to develop and promote progressive social policies inspired by social justice, equality and the empowerment of individuals and communities through research, consultations, public education and advocacy."

The Council's position was conveyed to Health and Welfare Canada in response to a letter from the Ministry which described the criteria that would be used "to assess an application from the CCSD to undertake social policy research and analysis." In his reply on June 23, 1992, Patrick Johnston noted that "one of the Council's priorities in recent months has been to improve its capacity to undertake high-quality social policy research and analysis... [Thus] we are very comfortable with the criteria you identified in your letter." Johnston pointed out, however, that "although social policy research will continue to occupy a major part of the Council's agenda, it is not the only activity which defines the CCSD." He stated that:

> ... our public education, advocacy and networking activities are equally important to the members and supporters of the CCSD. If a new arrangement between the CCSD and Health and Welfare precluded the CCSD from engaging in those other kinds of activities using the other sources of financial support received by the Council, we would not be inclined to accept the Minister's offer.

To emphasize the Council's continued affirmation of roles that extended beyond social policy research and analysis, Johnston continued:

> ... the Board also expressed their clear desire to continue to be guided by the CCSD's Mission Statement, a copy of which is enclosed. Once again, any change in the CCSD's Mission Statement which might be entailed by entering into a new arrange-

> ment with Health and Welfare would not be acceptable to my Board and would also result in our refusing to accept the Minister's offer.

With this clarification, the Council put together a five-year research proposal that did *not* involve CCSD becoming a research institute. Rather, it affirmed the Council's enhanced capacity to undertake, utilize and market research over the broad range of social policy.

How the proposal would be received at the political level was a matter of concern. The possibility that the Council would be deprived of all federal support for punitive reasons could not be dismissed. The Council's strong criticism of the federal budget of 1991 and of Bill C-69 (the measure that had reduced federal sharing to Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia under the Canada Assistance Plan) may have marked it for action comparable to the elimination of the Economic Council of Canada and other institutions that criticized or did not support the policies of the Progressive Conservative government. As often done in the past, the executive director and selected members of the Board of Governors undertook, behind the scenes, to secure a favourable decision on the Council's proposal. Whether this form of lobbying was instrumental in having the five-year funding proposal accepted may not ever be known, or least not until the government's records become open for archival inspection in 20 years.

The question of whether the Council's lobbying in this or other instances over the years reached the "corridors of power" and the "political backrooms" is not an inquiry within the scope of this book. Because the proliferation and presumed effectiveness of lobbying in all its forms in the national and provincial capitals is indisputable, the Council, within accepted ethical parameters, also had to maximize its lobbying capability in the interests of its social policy objectives. If this assessment is valid—if the Council had to know how to reach the decision-makers and those who held the

levers of power—it had implications for the kinds of qualifications that executive directors and members of the Board of Governors needed.

The sale of the Council's properties

While awaiting a decision on the research proposal, which, happily, turned out to be favourable, the Council turned its attention to other pressing matters. Among the most important, given the Council's virtually bankrupt status, was the sale of the Ottawa and Montreal offices. At the June 1992 meeting of the Board of Governors, the Executive Committee was "given authority to sell the property known as 55 Parkdale" in Ottawa. In August, Patrick Johnston reported to the Board that "the property is now listed with Royal Lepage" with an asking price of $2,750,000. A decision on selling the Montreal office was delayed for consideration of its implications until a later Board meeting.

The decision to reduce the size of the Board of Governors (from 39 members to 21) was complex because it involved revising the Council's bylaws as well as requesting the resignation of some members whose terms on the Board had not expired. A decision was made that the 21 seats would be distributed as follows: Atlantic region 4, Quebec 5, Ontario 5, Prairies/Northwest Territories 4, and British Columbia/Yukon 3. Plans were developed for a smooth transition to the smaller board and for the terms of office of seven board members to terminate each year.

Some administrative problems that had been at the forefront of the Council's concerns during 1991 and 1992 had not been fully resolved by the end of the 1992-1993 fiscal year. No purchaser for the Ottawa building had been found, and questions about the sale of the Montreal building were also pending. It did appear, however, that the CCSD would be designated by the federal government to play the country's leading role in social policy research and analysis. Patrick Johnston, in the *Annual Report*, referred to the details of the undertaking being finalized and pointed out that

the change in the nature of federal support would require changes within the Council which would be implemented over the course of the next year.

Nevertheless, the difficult administrative problems faced by the Council did not deter its pursuit of its central role: promoting the social development interests of Canadians. Among these were continuing issues regarding the Canadian Constitution, the socio-economic consequences of free trade, and the imposition of a consumer tax—the Goods and Services Tax (GST).

The Charlottetown Accord and the Social Charter

The Meech Lake Accord, which the Council had unsuccessfully sought to have amended, failed to attain the required support of all provinces by June 23, 1990 and was declared void, thus ending the first major effort to amend the Canadian Constitution of 1982. Although the 1982 Constitution applied to all provinces and to all Canada's citizens, its adoption had been opposed by the government then in office in Quebec and by the provincial legislature.

A new approach to constitutional reform was begun in 1991, designed to have wider public input and to address defects in the Meech Lake Accord, including some that the Council had attacked. A new proposal of the federal government received approval from the provincial governments at an intergovernmental conference in Charlottetown in August 1992 and became known as the Charlottetown Accord.

The Council's response to the new endeavour focussed largely on whether the Accord could be amended to include a social charter. The lead in developing the Council's case for the social charter was taken by Dick Weiler, one of the CCSD's long-standing policy associates. Weiler had earlier been involved in establishing the Court Challenges Program and measures to bring more humane and effective policies to bear on federal and provincial correctional programs, including measures for the victims of crime. The aim

was to have a charter which would reflect the many aspects of human rights and the law that had been, for some years, the subject of the Council's study and advocacy. The Council became the primary sponsor of an educational conference on the social charter held in Toronto in December 1991 and addressed by the Premier of Ontario, Bob Rae. A major argument advanced by the Council in support of its approach to the social charter concept was that Canada should become constitutionally, as well as morally, bound by principles enunciated in the United Nations Charter of Human Rights, to which Canada had subscribed in 1948.

The federal government decided to make acceptance of the Charlottetown Accord subject to a nationwide referendum, and it encouraged agencies and organizations to participate in the debate. The CCSD Board of Governors noted that although the Charlottetown Accord dealt positively with some of what the Council had seen as flaws in the Meech Lake Accord, it did not contain a social charter. Accordingly, the Council decided not to state a position on either its adoption or rejection. When the vote was taken on October 26, 1992, the Accord was rejected by 54.8 per cent of the voters across the nation, with negative majorities in Quebec, Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia and the Yukon.

Quebec: residual issues

Although the defeat of the Charlottetown Accord brought a halt to the attempt to amend the Canadian Constitution, Quebec's objections to the Constitution of 1982 remained. They were reflected in the 1993 election to the Parliament of Canada of 54 members of the Bloc Québécois and the election of a Parti Québécois government in Quebec in 1995. Both the new provincial government, headed by Jacques Parizeau, and the Bloc Québécois, headed by Lucien Bouchard, were committed to Quebec's separation from Canada if a majority of the provincial population approved separation in a referendum to be held in the autumn of 1995. The prospect that Quebec might separate from

Canada may have been a contributing factor in the decision of the Quebec members of the Council's Board of Governors to resign from the Council in 1994 and to establish the Quebec Council on Social Development.

Concerns about FTA, NAFTA and the GST

The Council's opposition to the terms of the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States, in retrospect, appeared to be justified in the light of devastating consequences to many aspects of Canadian life following FTA's implementation in January 1989. The federal government, however, pursued the free trade approach which was extended to Mexico in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1993. Of concern to the Council were the implications of the Agreement, which were mainly that long-term economic benefits were being sought with little provision for the protection of human rights or the continued viability of the countries' social programs.

When the federal government announced that it was proposing a consumer tax, the Council shared the concerns of the two opposition parties in Parliament that such a tax would bear most heavily on the poor. The Council was influential in the government's decision to establish a tax credit program, designed in some degree to compensate low-income families for the inescapable costs of what became the Goods and Services Tax (GST).

Other activities: Self-help

That the many-faceted activities of the Council were proceeding favourably was borne out by the concise listing of them in the *Annual Report* for 1992-1993. Some 23 activities and their significance for social welfare in Canada were described, including four highlights outlined by the executive director:

- the evolution of the CCSD's Centre for International Statistics on Economic and Social Welfare for Families and Children as an important social policy research resource, not only for CCSD, but also for other non-profit groups;
- the publication of two important books: *No Place Like Home: Building Sustainable Communities* and *The Canadian Fact Book on Income Security Programs*;
- the hosting of the first International Conference on Self-help/Mutual Aid, which attracted 500 delegates from 15 countries;
- the preparation of *Child Poverty in Canada: Report Card 92* for Campaign 2000, a coalition of national and community groups fighting child poverty.

Another task that had to be done in the following months of 1993 (the Council's fiscal year, like the government's, runs from April 1 to March 31) was to complete the arrangement under which the federal government would provide financial support to the Council for the agreed research program for an initial five-year period. Notable also was the final signing of the memorandum of agreement which established the CCSD's Centre for International Statistics on Economic and Social Welfare for Families and Children. These important developments, together with some reductions in the range of the Council's undertakings, gave it the level of resources it needed for its ongoing programs.

One of the programs whose sponsorship and direction by the Council was terminated was the Self-help Program, for which federal funding had ended in March. In February, the Council published the 29th edition of *Initiative*, the self-help newsletter through which CCSD staff, notably Hector Balthazar, had for several years promoted the self-help movement across Canada. Some evidence of the movement's growth and significance was the establishment of more than a score of self-help clearinghouses and the annual celebration of the officially declared Self-help Week.

A crowning event was the convening of the first International Conference on Self-help/Mutual Aid in Ottawa in September 1992, from which plans were developed for the establishment of a new, national, autonomous organization—Self-help Canada/Entraide Canada. Once again, the Council, in keeping with its traditional role, had promoted the establishment of an independent human service association which had grown to maturity within the sphere of the Council's social programs. On his retirement, Hector Balthazar was honoured by the Council as the pioneer leader of the self-help movement, an event at which he was presented with the Canada 125 Medal, "given in recognition of his service to community, compatriots and Canada."

The Montreal office

The Council's reduction in the scope of some of its programs and other economies could not discharge its accumulated deficit. This could only be done by the sale of its office buildings in Ottawa and Montreal. Unfortunately, as the months passed, no buyers came forward to purchase either building.

In fact, questions related to the Council's program in Montreal extended beyond selling the building. They embraced the larger question of the financial viability of retaining a CCSD branch office for the province of Quebec. This question became a divisive issue within the Board of Governors for a number of months. A motion was presented to the Board in June 1993, that the Montreal operation be closed by the end of the fiscal year, "unless the Executive Committee can be shown that it is fiscally viable."[44] It was carried with eight in favour and five (the members from Quebec) opposed.

Questions concerning the status of the Montreal office were discussed again at an Executive Committee meeting in September, when "issues were raised concerning the national focus of the Council, the need for a physical presence in Quebec of some kind, and the costs involved in such a commitment."[45] At the same

meeting, the resignations were announced of two Board members from Quebec, Paul Lamarche and Bill Ninacs. The issue would remain in the forefront throughout the rest of 1993 and into 1994.

Johnston's departure

Patrick Johnston continued as executive director through 1993, although in November he informed the Board of Governors that he might be leaving the Council before the expiry date of his contract. He took that step early in 1994, to become executive coordinator of the Ministerial Task Force on Social Security Reform in the department of Human Resources Development Canada. In June 1995, he returned to the voluntary sector as president and chief executive officer of the Canadian Centre for Philanthropy, based in Toronto.

The resignation of the Quebec members of the Board

It was following Patrick Johnston's departure, but before the installation of his successor that the issues surrounding the Council's Montreal office came to critical decision. At a meeting of the Executive Committee on February 26, 1994, Jean Panet-Raymond, the Council's immediate past president, presented a jointly signed letter announcing the resignation of the five Quebec members of the Council's Board of Governors. Although the letter referred to numerous reasons for the decision, its content was wholly on the decision that had been taken to close the Council's Quebec Bureau. It stated that the case for the continuation of the Bureau, and the role it played not only provincially but in Canadian social policy as a whole, had not been adequately recognized by the Board. Accordingly, the signators had decided to devote their energies and resources to Quebec—a decision soon acted upon by the creation of the Quebec Council on Social Development with Jean Panet-Raymond as its president. The letter of resignation expressed an expectation of collaboration between the two councils.

The resignation of the Quebec members was accepted with great regret. Quebec has become the third province, joining Ontario and British Columbia, to have a provincial planning council. President Sharon Manson Singer affirmed that, as it does in the case of these two other provinces, the Council will continue to invite nominations to its Board of Governors from Quebec. The CCSD, she declared, still constitutes the voice for social policy development for all of Canada.

Nine

David Ross: 1994-

In the *Annual Report* for 1993-1994, Council President Sharon Manson Singer, commenting on a year of momentous change, referred to Patrick Johnston's resignation and to "Dr. David Ross stepping in as acting executive director, generously extending himself to take on greater responsibilities on behalf of the Council." Later in the year, she announced that David Ross had been formally appointed to the post of executive director.

A "long-time policy associate" with the Council, Ross had earned a doctorate in Economics from Duke University (1968) and earlier degrees from the University of Alberta. He refers to himself as the only executive director of the Council to have come from the Prairies. Nevertheless, his working career has largely been elsewhere. It includes appointments in university teaching, administration, socio-economic consultation, writing, editing and research, serving in one or more of these capacities at the University of Windsor (1968-1972), the University of Ottawa (1972-1976), McGill

University (1978-1980, Carleton University (1983-1986), the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in Paris (1976-1978), the Department of Labour (1966-1968) and the Secretary of State of Canada (1974-1976), and the National Forum on Family Security (as chair and managing editor, 1991-1995). His numerous research undertakings have resulted in a wide range of books, articles and reports. Even a selected list of these would mark David Ross as one of Canada's principal authorities on socio-economic issues, especially on the impact of economic policies and practices on society as a whole and on its disadvantaged sectors in particular.

Ross's first position with CCSD was as program director in 1972-1974. In the 1980s and early 1990s, he served as a part-time research associate and was primarily instrumental in bringing to the Council the Centre for International Statistics, for which he had secured substantial funding. Ross ranks high among the CCSD's succession of eminently endowed executive directors.

David Ross

Administrative concerns

For many months during 1994, the Council was beset with accelerating administrative problems. In a report to members of the Board of Governors in May, the president outlined a number of pressing concerns. Because of immediate loan payments required on the Montreal property, the Council had to borrow from its Life and Legacy Fund, which is normally sheltered from current expenditure demands. As months passed without the sale of 55 Parkdale, the costs of maintaining the building rose. Moreover, as the

tenant groups who leased space there left for other quarters, the rental income generated in earlier years was rapidly diminishing. Also, the lack of resources made it necessary for the Council to terminate a contract it had with the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), advising on the role the Canadian government and Canadian non-governmental agencies should play in the 1995 United Nations International Conference for Social Development. Finally, the tasks remained of finding new rental quarters for the Council and of disposing, responsibly, of much of its library holdings and archival material.

There were positive developments, however, even in the trying months of the spring, summer and early autumn. Sharon Manson Singer was able to announce that Ariella Hostetter, a former Council treasurer, had agreed to resume that office. Manson Singer could also refer to the "sense of stability and continuity" that David Ross brought to the staff because of his long association with the Council. The Executive Committee and Board continued to strongly support the measures necessary to maintain the Council's role in advancing Canadian social policy, in spite of limited resources. And even while the nature of the CCSD's future remained clouded, the president provided strong leadership in planning for the Council's 75th anniversary in 1995.

The social service administrators conferences

Throughout 1993, 1994 and the early months of 1995, the Council's ongoing research, communications, publications and social policy advocacy continued unabated. As in the past, the Council continued assisting in organizing as well as participating in the Annual Consultation of Social Service Administrators by providing a staff person for the gathering. CCSD's service to the Consultation is an echo of the role the Council played when it had the Public Welfare Division within its structure. The bridge the Consultations provide between the voluntary and private sectors continues

to be important generally, and it also keeps the Council informed of the work of agency administrators across Canada and keeps the Consultation members abreast of the work of the Council.

In 1992 the Consultation was held in Edmonton, and in 1993 in Charlottetown. In 1994 it was convened in Markham, Ontario, under the chairmanship of the Commissioner of Community Services for the Municipality of York who wrote "to thank the CCSD and Susan Carter on the excellent job done on the organization of the conference." Susan Carter, appointed in June 1994 as the Council's executive coordinator and later as associate director, exemplified the close identity of public and voluntary sector responsibilities respecting social policy, having initially come, on secondment, from a senior position in the federal government.

Communications

The Council's Communications program, though affected by staff reductions, continued to perform strongly. In the early 1990s, it published, in addition to its major periodical *Perception*, three other periodicals, *Overview/Perspectives*, *Initiative* (on self-help), and *Vis-à-vis* (on family violence) together with publications of the Employability Resources Network (ERN), which included reports and newsletters to the extensive ERN network and a widely distributed *Stay in School* poster. Numerous research reports, including those from the Council's Montreal office, were produced each year. Other specialized publications were: the proceedings of the workshop on *The Well-being of Aboriginal Children*; *Education as an Investment for Indians on Reserves* by David Ross; *Voices of Aboriginal Women: Aboriginal Women Speak Out About Violence*; and *Aboriginal Values and Social Services: The Kahnawake Experience*. More generalized publications were *The Canadian Fact Book on Income Security Programs* by Melanie Hess; *No Place Like Home: Building Sustainable Communities* by Marcia Nozick; *An Overview of Canadian Social Policy*; *A Directory of Canadian Social Policy Resources*; and *Family Security in Insecure Times* by the National Forum on Family Security.

Publications were also generated by the Council's Centre for International Statistics. These included the annually produced *Child Poverty Report Card* associated with the Campaign 2000 coalition on child poverty; the newsletter *Focus on Child Care*; *The Canadian Fact Book on Poverty 1994*, by David Ross, Richard Shillington and Clarence Lochhead, and *The Road to Retirement: Demographic and Economic Changes in the 90s* by Grant Schellenberg.

Although publication of some periodicals were phased out (*Initiative* and the *ERN Newsletter*), two new ones were started. *The Progress of Canada's Children* will be produced annually (with funding from the Laidlaw Foundation). *Insight*, a periodic newsletter generated by the Centre for International Statistics, presents quantitative research findings that have a bearing on current policy issues and is widely distributed throughout the year.

"Communications," the responsibility of the Communications Division of the CCSD, consists of much more than the publication of works written or produced in other parts of the Council. Led by coordinator Nancy Colborne Perkins, the division interprets and edits research findings into formats usable for papers, publications and data sources for the Council and its constituency groups. It receives and makes available information relevant to the work of the Council, and ensures that the Council's public education and advocacy functions are effectively managed. Public relation functions—to ensure that the Council, in all its aspects, is projected positively to its many constituencies—extend to every part of the Council, but with particular emphasis in the Communications Division.

Research and policy analysis

From its earliest years, the Council has based its policy positions and advocacy on sound and intensive study. Charlotte Whitton was a pioneer in the use of social survey techniques. George Davidson, in preparing the social welfare community for postwar

economic and social developments, drew on his own knowledge and that of the two most eminent social policy researchers of the time, Harry Cassidy and Leonard Marsh. Dick Davis began the practice of recruiting qualified researchers like Dr. George Hougham to head the Council's research program. From Reuben Baetz through the Terry Hunsley years, from the Canadian Welfare Council to the Canadian Council on Social Development, research was solidly based. Thus, Patrick Johnston, in responding to the conditional offer of the federal government, was "comfortable" in assuming that the Council could commendably fulfil the role of a research and policy analysis institute.

It was during the directorship of David Ross that the Council's research program became fully matured, extending its research services to federal and provincial government departments, especially the Human Resources Development Department (HRD), and to a range of other organizations. These have included Campaign 2000 (the movement fighting child poverty), the Vanier Institute of the Family, The Caledon Institute on Social Policy, The United Way, the Metro Toronto Social Planning Council, The Canadian Child Care Federation and the One Voice Seniors Network.

Promoting sound social policy

From September 1984 to November 1993, the advancement of social policy in Canada was extremely difficult. In this period—spanning the terms of three CCSD directors, Hunsley, Sims and Johnston—the Progressive Conservatives were in power in Ottawa under the leadership of Brian Mulroney and, briefly, Kim Campbell. In the election on October 25, 1993, Canadians witnessed the near demise of the Progressive Conservative Party, which lost all of its seats in the House of Commons save two, down from 169 in 1988 and 211 in 1984.

To a considerable extent, the defeat of the Progressive Conservatives could be attributed to their record on social welfare. Their practice of allowing social policy development to be dominated by

the Department of Finance was finally recognized by the voters. It had included the abandonment of the universality of social programs in principle and practice, the termination of full indexing of social security benefits to inflation, an attack on the Canada Assistance Plan through capping the payments under it for Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia, and reductions in the coverage of unemployment insurance.

The prospects seemed bright for promoting more sound social policy with a Liberal government in power. Development of the welfare state programs created from the 1920s through the 1970s could be credited almost wholly to Liberal governments (goaded, it is true, by the New Democratic Party and its predecessor, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation). During their eight years in opposition up to 1993, the Liberals continually attacked the anti-welfare measures of the Tory government. Moreover, in the "Red Book," a policy document on what a Liberal government's objectives and plans would be when elected, they promised a positive stance on social policy issues.

It was soon obvious, however, that the government of Jean Chrétien was giving highest priority to reducing the nation's deficit, and that it proposed to achieve that end almost wholly by cuts in spending rather than by seeking new or increased revenue sources. In addition, for the reform of social programs, it put forward a number of widely publicized plans which had been developed by Lloyd Axworthy, the minister of Human Resources Development and a senior member of the Cabinet. These proposals were viewed by the Council and others in the social welfare as seriously flawed.

In response to the Axworthy proposals and to a paper presented by the Department of Finance entitled *Creating a Healthy Fiscal Climate*, the Council prepared two major policy papers. One was presented to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Human Resources Development in October 1995, and the other to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Finance in November. They creditably reflected the Council's established tradition of

putting forward strong policy documents solidly based on the Council's research capability. The Council's confidence in its own analysis of the country's social policy needs is reflected in the documents and their accompanying communiques:

> Canada is *vastly* different today than it was when much of "the social safety net" was established. Socially and economically, our society has been transformed over the last two decades, and the current social reform process must recognize and respond to these fundamental changes. But Axworthy's discussion paper lacks a clear vision of where this reform process will lead and many of the underlying assumptions in the document are not supported by the facts.[46]

In a further analysis of the federal papers, the Council contrasted its own vision of the type of society "we want to preserve or build collectively" with that presented in the government's documents:

> Some senior members of government have suggested that Canadians want to build a "cost-efficient society." The CCSD differs fundamentally. We believe that "cost-efficient" best describes how we want to *manage* our public resources (and few would disagree). Throughout Canada's history, our traditional values of fairness and compassion have been translated into important objectives that helped shape our social programs (and some of our economic policies as well).[47]

The Council went on to state that the objectives and direction of social security programs should continue to support the following:

- the reduction of economic inequities between individuals and regions in the country;
- fair chances and equal opportunities, so that a person's future is not limited by their social and economic environments;
- means for self-support and the ability to influence decisions that affect one's life;
- collective support for those who are unable to support themselves;
- shared responsibility for our collective well-being; it is in everyone's interest that *all* Canadians be included in our social and economic fabric;
- a system that maintains income security and stability, one that does not require individuals to "hit bottom" before intervening; in other words, one that *prevents* poverty rather than simply *responds* to it.[48]

The brief to the Committee on Human Resources Development contained 13 recommendations on policies and actions that would give substance to these broadly stated objectives and constitute effective social policy reform. Recommendation nine made a fundamental point that the Council would reiterate on every suitable occasion: that the federal government maintain its responsibility, its leadership role and its commitment to social policy in Canada. In elaboration, the Council remarked that:

> Changes proposed in the discussion paper and the substantial cutbacks in social spending now being discussed will have a far greater impact than can be measured simply by dollar savings for the federal government. We must look beyond the government's balance sheet and recognize that what is actually occurring is a fundamental shift in the federal government's power, responsibility and commitment in the social policy field. This will mean that federal

> influence will be greatly diminished in the future. The CCSD believes that we must maintain national standards in Canada; the federal government must continue to play a major role in social policy, in order to ensure that there is continued accessibility and fairness across the country.[49]

In its submission to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Finance, the Council made a strong case for a more balanced approach to federal financial policy and especially to means of reducing the deficit. Using public documents to support its argument, the brief emphasized that the deficit was not caused by increased spending on social programs and that "federal program spending, including all transfer payments, is actually lower today as a proportion of Gross Domestic Product than it was during the 1970s." The causes of the growing deficit were "high interest rates—deliberately pursued in the fight against inflation during the 1980s—combined with a drop in the growth rate of government revenues."[50]

The central thrust of the brief was to argue against exclusive emphasis on spending cuts and for serious attention to measures to increase revenues. It listed a number of possible revenue sources which were not being tapped or were insufficiently exploited: reducing the ceiling on tax-assisted retirement benefits, full inclusion of capital gains for tax purposes, reducing or eliminating the tax credit on the dividends of Canadian corporations, and reintroducing an inheritance tax.

Administration: turn of the tide

While the Council continued to monitor the social policy statements and the actions of the federal government throughout 1994, one event foreshadowed a dramatic change in the Council's prospects. This was the sale of the office building at 55 Parkdale Avenue. The sale was finalized on November 29, 1994, a date of considerable significance in the Council's internal affairs.

With the prospect of the sale in sight, the search had begun for a new location. It culminated in the selection of 441 MacLaren Street, Ottawa, a modern four-storey building near the centre of the city. The Council would lease the entire fourth floor, which was redesigned and electronically equipped to meet the Council's research and communication needs. The move to the new quarters in January 1995 opened a new chapter in the history of the Council as it began its 75th year of community service to Canada.

Preparations for the anniversary year had begun well in advance of the date set for the Annual Meeting and associated events, to be held in Vancouver on June 23 and 24. Among the associated gatherings was a "lawn reception" at the Splane residence near the University of British Columbia, attended by present and former members of the CCSD Board and staff, who were able to mingle with other "friends of CCSD." The crowning event was an anniversary dinner at which David Ross gave a lighthearted portrayal of the Council's 75-year history. Sharon Manson Singer touched on the highlights of the *Annual Report* presented earlier in the day, stating that "we are deficit-free, we have money in the bank, a solid and credible relationship with our funders, a strong, energetic and capable staff and, I believe, a great future." She also presented the CCSD 75th Anniversary Awards to eight persons from across Canada, in recognition of their outstanding contributions to Canadian social policy and the Council. Four of them were former presidents: Agnes Benidickson, Ralph Garber, Anne Usher and Michael Clague. The four others, Penelope Rowe, Jean Bernard Robichaud, Darlene Marzari and Richard Splane, had served the Council in other capacities.

Policy issues raised by the 1995 federal budget

Preparations for the 1994-1995 Annual Meeting did not interfere with the steps the Council took in response to the troubling policy statements of federal government ministers and the budget brought down in February by Minister of Finance Paul Martin. The Council's November 1994 brief referred to earlier was one of the

measures designed to influence the budget. Another was a letter (February 14, 1994) written to the Prime Minister Jean Chrétien by the CCSD president about the threatened termination of the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP), the federal-provincial shared-cost program that had served for nearly 30 years as Canada's most basic social safety net.

The president's letter pointed out that "the cost-sharing provision of CAP serves two very vital functions: it provides a financial incentive to develop and maintain welfare and social services, and a disincentive against contravening national standards." The letter continued:

> Regardless of the mechanism chosen by your government to transfer money to the provinces for social programs, we must emphasize the importance of maintaining adequate and equitable levels of service across the country. The federal government must demonstrate its leadership by dissuading the provinces from engaging in "a race to the lowest social denominator," a race that has already begun. Although the current arrangements do not *guarantee* national standards and equitable levels of service from province to province, they do, nonetheless, provide the federal government with some degree of leverage. We are simply asking that your government not step backwards by relinquishing this leverage. We believe greater provincial autonomy *can* be achieved, without completely dismantling our current federal/provincial structures, and without having the federal government abandon the field of social policy.

The federal budget of February 1995 revealed that the policies proposed by the CCSD and other social policy organizations had been largely ignored. In the hope that there might be a modifica-

tion in the budgetary proposals, the Council developed and widely distributed a 12-page document entitled *Social Policy Beyond the Budget*.

The paper restated points made in the Council's 1994 submissions, pointing out more forcefully the consequences of the projected policies:

> We take for granted the independent rankings of the world's most liveable countries that consistently rank Canada at or near the top of the list. This could not have come about without substantial investments in our social infrastructure. But with public spending soon to fall to levels of the 1950s, and considerably below the OECD average, Canadians must recognize that our current standard of living and the quality of life in this country will eventually fall as we reduce investments in our children, schools, family and social services, public health and other pillars of our social infrastructure. Just as insufficient investment in our physical infrastructures may mean crumbling roads and bridges, falling investments in our nation's social infrastructure will inevitably lead to a weakened social fabric that will be evident in higher crime rates, lower levels of education, higher unemployment, disenfranchised and troubled youth, substance abuse, family income insecurity and high levels of poverty.[51]

The Council focussed much of its criticism on the creation in the budget of what became known as the Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST), through which the federal government will make its social transfer payments to the provinces. The program was designed to embrace health and post-secondary education, which had been federally funded under earlier legislation, the *Established Programs Financing Act*, but to which was now added the social assistance and welfare services which had previously

been provided by the shared-cost measure, the Canada Assistance Plan. In unveiling the CHST, the Minister of Finance also announced that the federal contribution would be substantially cut back (by some four and a half billion dollars) from what had previously been payable under the two separate programs.

The Council's primary concern was the impact of the CHST on national standards, and it urged a reversal of what appeared to be the intended policy. It pointed out that a further disturbing aspect of the CHST measure was that the form of federal transfer to the provinces was increasingly changing from cash to tax points. This would jeopardize the federal government's capacity to establish and enforce national standards:

> Establishing national standards without cash transfers is of equal concern. As was mentioned, once tax points replace cash transfers under the CHST, there will be no way for the federal government to set national priorities because the standards will be largely unenforceable. Only by combining cash transfers with accepted standards will the parameters of activity in these three fields of social policy be clearly established, and participation and agreed-upon priorities be safeguarded. The CCSD suggests that the following minimum national standards and principles form the foundation of the CHST: for *health*, universality, portability, comprehensiveness, public administration and accessibility; for *social assistance*, financial assistance to anyone in need, no residency requirement and access to appeal; and for *post-secondary education*, accessibility, portability and public administration.[52]

The Council concluded its paper with the statement: "It is imperative that a national framework, supported by national standards and federal-provincial transfers, continue to contribute to the

quality of life in Canada, and that social cohesion and a national vision continue to be supported by the policies of the federal government."

1995 and beyond: change and continuity

The foregoing review of the Council's advocacy on federal social and economic policies is indicative of a long-standing and continuing part of the Council's many-faceted endeavours. In addition to macro issues at the federal level, however, the Council's public policy concern and advocacy extend to the provinces, municipalities and the many organizations which are organizationally both public and voluntary. There is, indeed, a need to direct more attention to these levels because of the federal policies of devolution of powers, decentralization and privatization.

The provinces, facing reduced federal financial aid and "spared" the associated requirement to meet national standards, are assuming greater responsibility for social policy. Arguably this has freed them to develop programs more attuned to the needs of their populations. Evidence emerged in the mid-1990s, however, that the removal, and prospective removal, of national standards has resulted in declining benefits under existing social programs and the threat of further dismantlement or elimination of programs. The province of Alberta, for example, has, in the opinion of the Federal Minister of Health, violated the standards set out in the *Canada Health Act*. Both Alberta and Ontario have made changes in their social assistance programs that would have been in violation of the terms of the Canada Assistance Plan, had CAP's standards still been enforceable. These included the reintroduction of residence requirements, the return to "work for welfare" requirements as a condition for the receipt of benefits, and weakening of the unqualified right of individuals and families to receive social assistance and welfare services to meet their basic needs. Such trends, evident in these and some other provinces, raised the spec-

tre (referred to in Manson Singer's letter to the Prime Minister in November 1994) of provinces competing in the "race to the bottom" in reducing social benefits to their poorest citizens.

The full range of the Council's services in and beyond the mid-1990s and the measures required to meet them were outlined in the executive director's 1995 *Annual Report*. Ross referred to the opportunities offered to the Council by its strengthened financial position and move to new quarters. More specifically, the executive director was happy to report:

> That the competency, congeniality and enthusiasm of our staff, combined with our excellent and well-informed studies and briefs, the health of our contract research, the efficiency and cheeriness of our new offices, the renewed Board enthusiasm and involvement, and the Council's positive financial outlook all paint a hopeful, confident and exciting landscape for the coming year.[53]

David Ross also outlined the detailed steps taken "to transform the Council into a self-supporting organization that is independent of government sustaining grants." He emphasized that "with the growth of contract research conducted by the CCSD's Centre for International Statistics on Economic and Social Welfare, our research policy development functions and public education materials are all more tightly focussed on the causes, consequences of, and solutions to the growing problem of economic and social insecurity among families."

The Council's enhanced research capacity, including its ability to bring national and international data to bear on existing and emerging social problems, bodes well for continued effectiveness in its work for social progress. The many unfavourable trends in public policy, together with the wide-ranging effects of market-driven globalization, mean that the challenges facing the Council are at least comparable, in their threat to social values, to any experi-

enced by the Council in its 75-year history. Nonetheless, the executive director's report, underscoring the mood and commitments expressed at the 1995 Annual Meeting, give promise that the Council will maintain its unbroken record of distinguished service to Canada.

Ten

New President, New Challenges

President Sharon Manson Singer, presiding at the 75th Annual Meeting, passed on to her successor an association proud of its history and able to address the future with confidence. This much is fortunate, because Charles Birchall has become president of the CCSD at a time when so much is uncertain in Canada, except for the fact that the challenges of the future will be formidable.

Birchall is the Council's 31st president. He is also the ninth from the city of Toronto, and that, parenthetically, would provide grounds for an interesting inquiry about the succession of Toronto-based presidents along with a number of outstanding Toronto Board members. Such an inquiry would establish the links between Mrs. Kasper Fraser (the Council's 10th president and a highly respected and socially concerned member of the Toronto establishment); Wallace McCutcheon, Preston Gilbride and

Kenneth Carter (three closely associated members of the corporate elite); Charles Hendry (a social development leader committed to community outreach), Harvey Perry (formally and emotionally linked with the objectives of Kenneth Carter on the taxation report); and Ralph Garber (who, like Charles Hendry, was both a former dean of social work at the University of Toronto and a national and international community development leader). Their endeavours were bolstered by some highly influential Board members from Toronto, two of whom were William Anderson (a foremost authority on pension policy) in the 1950s and 1960s, and Ronald Robertson in the 1980s and early 1990s. It was Ronald Robertson (also associated with the Carter Report on Taxation) who was responsible for Charles Birchall coming on the Council's Board of Governors with a sense of the legacy of his forerunners and a strong commitment to the Council's sound development.

Charles Birchall came to the CCSD presidency with a background that included degrees in political science and law from Queen's University and the University of Toronto; executive duties in the office of the Attorney General of Ontario in the 1980s with direct involvement in policy on women's issues, Native affairs and race relations; and links over many years with various professional associations and community groups on the protection and enhancement of the environment. As a partner in the nationwide legal firm, McCarthy Tétrault, environmental issues, broadly defined, are in the forefront of his legal practice.

In his previous role with the Council as vice president from Ontario, Birchall participated in the action taken to bring the Council out of its near bankrupt position. Among the objectives he has set for his presidency, he intends to see to the formulation and adoption of measures which will ensure the CCSD's continued solvency.

The Quebec sovereignty issue

In the brief discussion earlier on the February 1994 resignation of the Quebec members of the Board of Governors and the founding of the Quebec Council on Social Development (see Chapter 8), it was speculated that these actions may have been influenced by the resurgence of the movement to take Quebec out of Canada and make it a separate and sovereign nation. This was the determined goal of the Parti Québécois government of Quebec elected in 1994 and of the Bloc Québécois members who formed the official opposition in the Parliament of Canada from October 1993.

The sovereignty question was put to the people of Quebec in a referendum in October 1995, a repetition of a similar referendum in 1980. In the earlier year, sovereignty was supported by about 40 per cent of the vote; in 1995 the vote was almost evenly split, 49.4 per cent of voters for sovereignty, 50.6 per cent opposed.

Although this was a victory for the continuance of Quebec in the Canadian federation, the referendum campaign was clearly divisive and drew attention to the failure of the federal government to present a strong case for national integrity and a vision for Canada's future. Many associated that failure, at least in part, to the dismantling of the country's social programs—the target of CCSD criticisms of the 1995 budget and other federal policies seen as weakening the vision of Canada as a fair and caring society. On the positive side, many hundreds of Canadians from all provinces travelled to Montreal on the eve of the referendum to affirm their affection for Quebec and their faith in the future of the Canadian federation. For the CCSD's part, its research, policy positions and advocacy extends, as in the past, to all parts of Canada.

The Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST)

The CCSD's strong criticism of the Canada Health and Social Transfer measure when it was outlined in the 1995 federal budget did not prevent the Council from seeking to bring about as positive a result as possible from its implementation. This was to be

attempted through an initiative supported by the federal ministry, Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC), and by three provincial governments.

The principal action taken by the Council was to convene three Roundtable discussions in the west, central and eastern Canada (in Vancouver, Toronto and Halifax). The task of those invited to participate—individuals with a variety of social policy perspectives —was to suggest a range of options that could guide the CHST and enhance its operation.

Charles Birchall, in outlining to participants of the Roundtables the broad purposes of the endeavour, described them in the following terms:

> For the CCSD, the rationale for initiating the CHST Roundtable process is to encourage and contribute to dialogues leading governments to adopt principles and objectives for the CHST which will maximize the outcomes of social spending. For example, our exchange of views at the Roundtable might give rise to suggestions as to the way allocations should be made within the block fund. We will ask how the CHST could work so as to facilitate positive action across health, welfare and education sectors, and not impede those linkages characteristic of integrated programming at the community level. Also, if the CHST is to be the new framework for social policy, then it is important that expenditures and outcomes be measured, monitored and reported to Canadians so that outcomes from the collective investment can be determined and assessed in light of their values and expectation.[54]

In general, the Council's initiative was welcomed by the provinces, some contributing financially and, together with the federal government, agreeing to designate "knowledgeable persons" to

join in the discussions. In addition to providing financial support, HRDC provided helpful documentation. This included the government's rationale for the CHST policies it had formulated and for the legislation that had been enacted to carry out provisions of the February budget. With respect to CHST, the legislation contains provisions to enforce, by the withholding of federal funds, the standards set in the *Canada Health Act*. These included public administration, comprehensiveness, universality (with respect to health care), portability, accessibility and the implied inadmissibility of extra-billing and user fees.

The legislation also indicated the government's acceptance of the arguments so strongly advanced by CCSD and others about the necessity for the federal transfer program to have a sufficiently large cash component (as opposed to tax points) to give meaning to the enforcement mechanism. This was to be achieved through the withholding of federal funds to impose conformity on a province that failed to meet one or more of the required standards. The HRDC Summary, dated October 1995, referred to the federal government's "recently stated commitment to stabilizing the cash component of the CHST."

The government's position was less satisfactory in respect to social assistance. As announced in the 1995 budget, the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) was repealed effective the end of March 1996. With its termination, the federal government abandoned all but one of the five requirements that the provinces were obligated to meet under the CAP agreements. These (expressed as rights in Charles Birchall's letter of October 23 to the CHST Roundtable participants) are:

- the right to income when in need;
- the right to an amount of income that meets basic requirements;
- the right to appeal a welfare decision one feels is wrong;
- the right not to have to work for welfare;

- the right to income when in need, regardless of the province one is from.

In the new legislation, only the last of these rights receives protection (again, through the withholding of federal funding) from a province in violation of the right. The legislation dealing with it is quite specific. It defines social assistance as "aid in any form to or in respect to a person in need." It then states that a province must not "require or allow a period of residence in the province or Canada to be set as a condition of eligibility for social assistance or for the receipt or continued receipt thereof." It reinforces the prohibition by stating that a province must not "make or allow the amount, form or manner of social assistance to be contingent upon a period of such residence."

The *Act* goes on, in some detail, to set out the procedures by which the federal government will withhold funds from a dissenting province. They are identical to those to be applied in protection of the terms of the *Canada Health Act*.

The setting for the Roundtables

In the months following introduction of the legislation, developments were not encouraging. A number of provinces led by Alberta and Ontario adopted policies and procedures that violated both the spirit and the letter of the Canada Assistance Plan, including plans for the imposition of workfare. More recently, the Minister of Social Services of British Columbia, Joy MacPhail, ruled that social assistance will not be granted to applicants from another province until they have been resident in B.C. for three months. She argued that a somewhat similar approach applies in the case of new arrivals requiring health services, whose health coverage for 90 days is deemed to be the responsibility of the province from which they have moved. The Minister insisted that the new rules were justified because the federal government is withdrawing its financial support of the national safety net. She referred to the fact that, because of legislation of the previous government, the prov-

ince receives only about a third of the social assistance costs from the federal government, and that the CHST cuts will create further burdens.

The federal minister, Lloyd Axworthy, referring to the CHST legislation, stated that he will be legally obliged to withhold funds if the province proceeds with its plan. He urged British Columbia to work with Ottawa and other provinces on an alternative approach, and referred to a forthcoming meeting with all the provinces.

Axworthy's proposal for a federal-provincial meeting to consider the implications of CHST and other social policy changes had been in the planning stage for many months. And it was for the purpose of having the views of a range of individuals knowledgeable about social policy issues available for this crucial meeting that the CCSD developed the Roundtables.

Clearly, the federal-provincial differences on social assistance and the provincial cutbacks in both social assistance and welfare services, together with the impending CHST cuts in federal funding, did not bode well for the proposed meeting. However, there were some favourable factors. One was a dawning recognition by the general public and the media of the costly consequences of shredding the social safety net. More promising still, and meriting close attention, were two meetings of provincial officials and ministers held in the summer and autumn of 1995 arising from the annual Premier's Conference. They were specifically related to social programming, including the CHST.

Positive indicators in the provincial meetings

The first of the two meetings outlined a set of guiding principles and underlying values for social policy reform and renewal, providing for: affordability and fiscal responsibility; commitment and comparability; shared responsibility; national standards; adequacy and accessibility; equity and fairness; prevention; active vs. passive

intervention; dignity and independence; federal programs for Aboriginal peoples; the role of the family; the role of communities; gender equity; and the welfare of children, including child care.

The second of the two meetings issued a communiqué indicating the intention of the ministers responsible for social services to "take a leadership role in the reform and renewal of social service programs across the country." In support of this intention, they outlined what should be achieved by social service programs. They must:

- give priority to the well-being of children and families;
- involve communities in seeking solutions to social programs;
- continue to support Canadians most in need and reinforce Canada's record as a fair and caring society;
- provide meaningful opportunities to assist people to become more self-sufficient and live with dignity and independence;
- be affordable, sustainable and achieve tested results.

This indication of responsible planning by the provinces and the stake the federal government has in bringing some affirmative outcomes from the CHST appeared to diminish the negative factors and offer a realistic promise that the CCSD Roundtables would, indeed, help to "facilitate positive action."

The findings of the Roundtables

The Roundtables took place on November 13 in Vancouver, November 20 in Halifax and December 4 in Toronto. In mid-December, the Council prepared a document entitled: *Roundtables on the Canada Health and Social Transfer, Summary Report.*

The *Report* is to be widely distributed and, predictably, its findings will inform and guide the social policy endeavours of individuals, groups, organizations and the socially concerned segment of the media. There is merit in presenting in the concluding pages of this book, some of the *Report's major findings.*

As a starting point, the Roundtables recognized "the importance of articulating the values that inform social policy in Canada." Thus:

> Recent research suggests that Canadians espouse core values of self-reliance, compassion leading to collective responsibility, democracy and freedom, and investment in children as the future of the country. They do not want to relinquish the foundations of well-being offered by social, health and education programs. However, Canadians have to work through a number of contradictions between their core values and how to implement them, for example, they accept the need for fiscal restraint, but want to temper cuts with compassion; they support social security reform, but are reluctant to relinquish programs valuable to quality of life. They do not want less government, but better government, a sense that government is there to set Canada's domestic and international commitments, to restore at least some of the protections for income security based on need and on adequacy and portability of benefits, notably in the social assistance and social services portion of the fund.
>
> The changes being made by governments to the social safety net do not correspond to the fundamental values of most Canadians... a principal role for the federal government should still be to ensure the distribution of income and resources according to values held by Canadians... The federal government

> should continue national responsibility for ensuring equity and social security among its citizens, as undertaken in international covenants and in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms... and it should continue to ensure national principles and safeguard basic social rights.

The Roundtables touched on the serious consequences of the increasing disparity in incomes to the democratic basis of Canadian society :

> Democracy implies the need for broad participation, but if we continue to have a widening disparity of incomes, the marginalized groups will no longer participate. Unless we have a very strong political will to engage the full range of people in dialogue, we will lose those who are disaffected... This opens the revolutionary path for seeking solutions by other means, rather than through dialogue and participation, as we have been used to in this country.

The Roundtables recognized that the CHST, as defined in the 1995 federal budget and its associated legislation, had the grave limitations that the CCSD and many others had repeatedly outlined and deplored from the day the budget was delivered. What the Roundtables sought to achieve was an examination of the CHST in the context of sound social policy.

> CHST should be considered within a broad human development framework of well-being, the components of which include (but are not limited to) good health, adequate housing, sound education, productive work, attachment to friends and family, environmental protection, security and access to the natural world. These and other contributors to well-being

> are linked—strength in one may strengthen others, while deprivation of one can have long-term consequences in other areas.

In expanding on what would be needed for an enhanced CHST to become an effective contributor to social and economic well-being, the Roundtables stressed recognition that:

> Investment in prevention and early intervention contributes to positive outcomes, particularly in the longer term, and is a financially sound strategy... Economic development depends on social/human development as much as the reverse. A high level of competence in areas such as nurturing children is essential to maintaining economic prosperity, as well as in protecting the most vulnerable members of society.

The Roundtables identified other practical measures needed to give an amended CHST its potentially positive role. These included:

- the protection of the social assistance and social services share of the transfer to prevent it from being "swallowed up by health and post-secondary education and other priorities;"
- the full indexing of provincial entitlements;
- the funds reflecting transfers for social assistance and social services should not, as a minimum, constitute a smaller percentage of the whole than on April 1, 1996.

Beyond the Roundtables

An additional emphasis of the Roundtables was on measurable accountability, on the steps taken towards agreed and shared goals and objectives for well-being. They should be exactingly "monitored and publicly observed." That accountability for so broad a

range of social policy measures was deemed to be feasible may well have reflected the CCSD's own enhanced competence in the quantitative measurement of endeavours targeted on qualitative improvement.

It is evident, by its leadership in the Roundtables, that the Council has acted in accordance with its finest traditions. Similar examples of such actions, cited earlier, concerned the birth of the Unemployment Assistance Program in the 1950s and the development of the Canada Assistance Plan in the 1960s. In its role in the Roundtables, the Council is working toward a new social policy framework that includes but goes beyond social assistance and social services. The Roundtables have demonstrated that the Council is capable of continued leadership in resolving the complexities of the social policy measures that will take the country into the next century.

Eleven

Reflective Postscripts

The preceding account of the Council's history has sought to combine some commentary and analysis within an essentially narrative approach. The following observations on certain aspects of the foregoing account are somewhat more analytical. They are offered as *reflective* postscripts.

The Board of Governors

Although the centrality of the Board of Governors in the life of the Council has been evident throughout this book, it deserves some summarizing comment. Attention is drawn to Appendix 1A, 1B and 1C, which list the members of the Board in 1939-40, 1959-60 and 1989-90. These three appendices indicate that, for a variety of reasons, a sharp reduction in the size of the Board occurred between 1960 and 1989, and a further reduction has followed in the 1990s, with the number of Board members falling from no less than 90 as late as the 1960s to 20 in 1994-95.

Numerous factors account for these Board reductions. Chief among them was the formation of separate agencies to meet specialized needs and constituencies which earlier had been within the Council's mandate. Board members more closely identified with the specialized agencies than with the Council's broader objectives often left the Council to form the nucleus of the boards of the new agencies. Another factor was cost: a growing number of board members could attend meetings only if their expenses of travel and accommodation were covered in the Council's budget, and this made the cost of a large board prohibitive. Developments in communication also contributed to the reduced Board size, and encouraged the use of conference calls, facsimiles and e-mail to reach various components of the Council's constituency.

In 1939-40, there were two classifications of governors: those representing members and donors, and those associated with technical services. The latter were further identified with the specific services: Maternal and Child Hygiene, Child Care and Protection, Family Welfare, Community Organization, Leisure Time Activities, Delinquency Services, Public Welfare Administration and French-speaking Services. In 1959-60, that type of classification had disappeared, but the number of Board members continued to be high, around 90 persons. What is notable in both years is the number of persons who were prominent leaders in a wide range of callings. A separate study might profitably be undertaken of this phenomenon, considering the importance of this large number of influential citizens to the workings of the Council and their effect on Canadian society in general.

Many members of the Board of Governors who influenced the work of the Council were appointed to chair its committees and task forces and, in more recent years, to serve as vice presidents for each of the five regions: Atlantic, Quebec, Ontario, Prairies/Northwest Territories and British Columbia/Yukon.

Over the course of the Council's history, there were numerous members of the Board whose strong influence derived from their personal attributes, their identification with important sectors of the community or their capacity to provide knowledgeable leadership on current or long-term issues. Few efforts have been made to recognize the contributions of such individuals. Developing and defending a retrospective list of even, say, 75 of the governors during the Council's first 75 years—one that would have done full justice to the endeavour—was certainly beyond the scope of this study.

However, having said that, one can make a good case for identifying at least the following as representative of all those who made noteworthy contributions:[55]

William Anderson (Toronto)
Thomas d'Aquino (Ottawa)
H. R. Balls (Ottawa)
Leslie Batterson (Windsor)
Gilles Beausoleil (Montreal)
S. E. Blakely (Calgary)
Wm. McMillin Carson (Hamilton)
Mme. Pierre Casgrain (Montreal)
Nellie Cournoyea (Inuvik)
Gordon Cushing (Ottawa)
William N. Dyson (Ottawa)
Senator Muriel Ferguson (Fredericton)
Mrs. E. Davie Fulton (Vancouver)
Sylva Gelber (Ottawa)
Senator J. M. Godfrey (Toronto)
Eric Hardy (Toronto)
L. F. Hatfield (Dartmouth)
Ariella Hostetter (Ottawa)
Eric Keating (Fredericton)
A. M. Kirkpatrick (Toronto)
Stanley Knowles (Winnipeg)
Dr. Claire Laberge-Nadeau (Montreal)
David MacDonald, MP (Allerton)
Dr. John H. Marian (Saskatoon)
Margaret Andrew (Vancouver)
Nicky Aumond (Montreal)
Jules Barrière (Hull)
André Beaudoin (Quebec)
R. Max Beck (Vancouver)
Marion Brydon (Toronto)
Humphrey S. M. Carver (Ottawa)
J. G. Copeman (Richmond)
Dorothea Crittenden (Toronto)
Otto Driedger (Regina)
H. H. Edmison (Toronto)
Donalda Ford (Regina)
Georgio Gaudet (Fredericton)
Mrs. Paul Marcel Gélinas (Montreal)
Bruce W. Halsey (Ottawa)
Dr. J. E. F. Hastings (Toronto)
Laura Holland (Vancouver)
Gayle Gilchrist James (Edmonton)
Hugh Keenleyside (Victoria)
C. Norman Knight (Ottawa)
Walter C. Koerner (Vancouver)
Andrew Love (Belleville)
Jim MacDonald (Ottawa)
Darlene Marzari (Vancouver)

Elwood McCracken (Toronto)
Cheryl McLean (Whitehorse)
George S. Mooney (Montreal)
A. R. Mosher (Ottawa)
Howard Naphtali (Vancouver)
Oubert Ouellet (Quebec)
France Picard (Montreal)
J. C. Pollack (Ste. Foy)
Marie Riddell (Victoria)
Penelope Rowe (St. John's)
Clifford Scotton (Ottawa)
Lloyd Shaw (Halifax)
Senator Mira Spivak (Winnipeg)
Keith Wass (Edmonton)
Malcolm Welch (Ottawa)
John H. Yerger (Toronto)
Dr. Nicholas Zay (Quebec)

Karen McGrath (St. John's)
Michael Mendelson (Toronto)
Kathleen Morrissy (Fredericton)
Nicole du Mouchel (Montreal)
Geoff Norquay (Edmonton)
J. Harvey Perry (Toronto)
Gwen Pickering (Halifax)
George Pope (St. John's)
Ronald Robertson (Toronto)
Dr. Cope Schwenger (Toronto)
Mrs. Gordon Selman (Vancouver)
Monique Simard (Montreal)
Roy Tiller (St. John's)
E. F. Watson (Toronto)
J. S. White (Regina)
Dorothy Zarski (Ottawa)

Presidents

The 31 presidents who have served the Council since 1920 are listed in Appendix 2, identified with their home community and their term of office. The usual term of office of a president since the end of the 1940s was two years, except for one longer term in the mid-1960s, a second at the end of the 1960s, a third in the early 1970s and lastly in the early 1980s, when Mavis Hurley's tenure included one year of the term of Claude Garcia, who resigned to run for political office.

Some brief biographical data on the presidents has been given earlier, but largely in respect to those holding the office since 1980. Some reference is merited, in more general terms, to their predecessors. The presidents during the Whitton era were prominent citizens closely associated with social services, especially services related to child welfare. Mrs. Ella Thorburn, prominent in social welfare in Ottawa, served as president for seven years (1924-1931), a record only exceeded by Philip Fisher, whose presidency

(1940-1949) began in the Whitton era and extended through the Parker, Davidson and Lea periods and for several years into the tenure of Dick Davis.

The presidents in the 1950s and 1960s were largely drawn from the corporate world and, as exemplified by Wallace McCutcheon, Preston Gilbride, Kenneth Carter and Lawrence Freiman, were highly influential representatives of that sector. Others with a similar identification included the corporate lawyer B. M. Alexandor, whose contributions to the work of the Council continued into the 1990s, and Lucien Massé and Félix Guibert. A later representative of the business world was Harvey Perry, who served from 1977 to 1979. Charles Hendry (1969-1972) marked something of a turning point. He and most of those who followed were more closely identified with some part of the social welfare field, together with a profession, notably law, as in the case of Charles Birchall, the current president, and Linton Smith (1989-1991), who has been a provincial court judge since the 1980s. Agnes Benidickson, whose additional service to the Council as interim executive officer has been mentioned earlier, has strong links with the business and political worlds, and has been a leader in many voluntary settings, including her strong participation in the affairs of Queen's University, of which she has become one of its longest serving chancellors.

A footnote to Appendix 2 gives a listing of the communities of normal residence of the presidents, showing that nine were from Toronto, eight from Montreal, six from Ottawa, two from Vancouver and one each from Orillia, Quebec City, Hull, Fredericton, Winnipeg and Regina.

Socio-political factors

In the 75 years since 1920, ideologies of the right and left have, at all times, been in the forefront of world politics, especially during the period of the Cold War from 1946 to 1990. Canada, and institutions in Canada like the Council, were inevitably

affected by this worldwide phenomenon, and a more detailed history of the Council might reveal that ideological factors had greater weight than is suggested in this historical review.

Evidence of conservative influences on policy-making in the Council have been touched upon. Charlotte Whitton, for example, was described by her biographers as a "feminist on the right." Most of the presidents of the Council between 1940 and the mid-1960s were corporate leaders presumed to have conservative views, especially on the level of national resources that should be devoted to social programs. Dick Davis, executive director through most of that period, however, maintained that the case he and the Council staff and a majority of Board members made for the development of comprehensive social programs in Canada won out over the predilections of incoming presidents.

In confidential discussions, Davis would tell of Wallace McCutcheon, often described as a corporate giant, who later became a member in the cabinet of a Progressive Conservative government. Initially hostile toward proposals for social welfare advances, McCutcheon became an influential supporter of them, as exemplified in his widely distributed booklet, *A Layman Looks at Welfare*. Davis might also have referred to Kenneth Carter, who resigned from the presidency of the Council to head the Royal Commission on Taxation. Carter may well have carried to his new assignment a point of view gained at the Council, although the corporate community, believing him to be one who would further the interests of investment capital, had different expectations. When the Carter Report appeared with its ground-breaking proposals for equity and fairness in taxation policy, Kenneth Carter was bitterly attacked by conservative business groups, while being regarded as a champion of values revered by the Council.

The record of the Council over its whole period would suggest that its policies did not reflect ideological extremes. A review of the membership of the Board of Governors, in Appendices 1A and 1B,

reveals a broad cross-section of Canadian society, with representatives of business and labour and of the three major political parties.

Up to the 1980s, a major strategy of the Council was to urge Liberal governments—which enjoyed a near monopoly of power—to carry out their avowed social welfare promises. During periods of minority Liberal government, when its retention of office required left-wing support, the Council's advocacy tended to coincide with the policy aims of the CCF/NDP, which were supportive of universal coverage of social programs, and this suggests that the Council's stance was "centre-left" rather than "centre-right." The Council's policy positions moved from advocating a national minimum to giving strong support to universality, with income redistribution as a desired outcome. It also embraced, at one time, the guaranteed income concept. That occurred during the Baetz period and may have seemed like an idea associated with left-of-centre ideology. In fact, in the United States as well as Canada, it had conservative support, exemplified in the aborted attempt of Robert Stanfield, head of the Progressive Conservative Party, to have the guaranteed income approach officially adopted by his party.

During the 1980s and early 1990s, traditional left-right identifications have given way to market-centred individualism that is attacking all of the collective measures of the welfare state. With the national government weakened by free trade commitments and by the vast power of those controlling the levers of globalization, the Council has had an uphill fight to defend social programs. It has had to face new realities and begin the development and utilization of new strategies for the advancement of the social goals implicit in its Mission Statement (Appendix 5).

International factors

The Council's approach to national issues has at all times reflected its consciousness of the importance of international factors. Charlotte Whitton had networking connections in the United Kingdom and the United States, and experience in the social programs of the League of Nations. Harry Cassidy, in his address in 1945 outlining roles the Council should seek to perform, included representing "organized social work in the international sphere." George Davidson was chairperson of the International Council of Social Work (as it was then called) in 1954 and became its president for the 1954-1956 term. Dick Davis was a key player in the postwar rebirth of the International Council on Social Welfare (ICSW) and repeatedly emphasized that Canada's welfare is inextricably bound up with the welfare of the world at large. Reuben Baetz became the ICSW president from 1972 to 1976 and supported a number of international activities based in the Council, including the work of the International Social Service organization (ISS).

During the Hunsley period and into the 1990s, the Council has continued to give international issues high priority, notably the issue of free trade with the United States (FTA) and later with other countries in the Americas (NAFTA). In respect to FTA, the Council's well-thought-out position presented in its policy document, *The Free Trade Agreement and Social Policy*, was widely quoted and may have influenced the thinking of the majority of Canadians who supported candidates in the 1988 general election who opposed FTA. While the Mulroney government was elected and the Agreement became law in 1989, the Council continued to monitor its wide-ranging consequences for Canadian society.

The CCSD's international stance has been strengthened by the experience that David Ross has brought to the Council from his work with the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development in Paris and his success in creating the Council's Centre for International Statistics. The Council's capacity to deal with the international impact on Canadian social policy can count on research

based on current in-house data, which, in turn, strengthens the Council's capacity to influence national policies affecting war and peace and global social development.

The Council and women

With the increasing exploration of "gender issues" in every aspect of contemporary society, a separate study might also examine the role of women in the Council's history. The range of issues identified since the rebirth of feminism in the 1960s on the place of women in various institutions suggests that the study would need to examine the question in more than numerical terms. The latter are simply stated. Over most of the Council's history, men have substantially outnumbered women on the Board of Governors, and that was true even when the Council was more closely linked to social work, which had largely been a female profession until after the Second World War. Only in 1994 and 1995 have the women on the Board equalled the men in number. In respect to the Council's presidents, of the 31 persons who held that office to the end of 1995, seven were women. Of the 12 executive heads, five have been women, but only Charlotte Whitton held the position on other than an acting or interim basis.

In exploring the gender question in the light of two or three decades of women's studies, we would need to take note of the earlier feminist movement identified with the suffragist struggle for the vote and for representation in the House of Commons and the Senate. That phase of the movement extended through much of the lifetime of Charlotte Whitton, and although as a "feminist on the right" she was not completely in harmony with some aspects of the early feminist movement, her appointment and long tenure as the executive head of the Council may nonetheless have had a gender significance in the Council's early history.

A question dealt with in feminist literature is the longstanding allegation that women are unable, for family or other reasons, to carry the demanding policy or executive roles traditionally borne

by men. One could test the validity of that statement with regard to some of the leading women in the Council's work during the past two or three decades. Sharon Manson Singer is a case in point, with the many roles she was able to play as a wife and parent, governmental representative on provincial committees and commissions, coordinator of national research projects and university professor, even during her term as Council president (1993-1995). The range of her endeavours compares extremely well with those of her male predecessors, whose "busy men" biographical summaries are often heralded to bolster the argument that only men can carry high office and fulfil family and community roles.

The above references have been to women who have been presidents, Board members and executive heads of the Council, but our hypothetical study would also have to extend to staff members, professional and managerial. They would include, from the Whitton and Davidson periods, Enid Wyness and Ruth Harvey. In the Davis era and extending into the Baetz period, many of the women who joined the Council had previously made their mark in the social welfare field and in a number of instances later proceeded on to leadership roles in various sectors of Canadian society. They included the editor and librarian Marjorie King and social workers Phyllis Burns, Novia Carter, Doris French, Mildred Flanagan, Patricia Godfrey, Elizabeth Govan, Ghislaine Guindon, Marie Hamel, Marion Murphy, Freda Paltiel, Lillian Thompson and Bessie Touzel. Two women who served in a managerial capacity in the operation of the Council, and in its sponsorship of the social welfare conferences that were an important part of the Council's work, were Lorna Rice and Doris Roy. Many of these women were honoured in later years, but others received no such recognition. Many would have been included in a Council "Hall of Fame," had such an entity existed.

Overall, however, there is little evidence that gender issues, narrowly defined, were on the Council's agenda. Such issues were seen as part of the Council's strong commitment to the broadest definition of human rights. In constant pursuit of the elusive goal of

universal human rights, the Council strongly supported the entrenchment of the Charter of Human Rights in Canada's patriated constitution. It then took the lead in the legal challenges program, designed to ensure that the terms of the Charter were enforced. Its opposition to the Meech Lake Accord was on the grounds that it eroded the constitutional protection of women as well as Native people and multi-cultural groups. And its strong and continuous measures against violence to women represented tangible rather than rhetorical pursuit of women's rights at the most basic level—security of person for women and their children.

Financing the Council

There has been little reference in the foregoing pages to the financing of CCSD, although measures for securing the resources needed to carry out the Council's costly functions were constantly on the agenda of the Board and its executive committees, and constituted a priority on the day-to-day schedule of the executive director.

The earliest references to the funding of the Council were to the grant of a thousand dollars from the federal government in 1920 and its increase to five thousand dollars in 1925. Those grants were vital to the founding and growth of the Council and for providing the base from which funds from private sources could be sought. This established what became the normal funding pattern. The gradual increase in financial support continued to come mainly from government and voluntary sources. What changed was that public funding began to come as well from provinces and municipalities, and voluntary sources extended to memberships, contributions from corporations and trade unions, and the United Way. Further funding came from conferences and, increasingly, from subscriptions to the Council's publications and the sale of its published books.

None of the sources could be regarded as totally secure, and the Council sought to avoid excessive dependence on any one source. The prudence of that policy was justified many times during the Council's history, and most dramatically in the early 1990s when the federal grant to the Council was terminated. The situation was saved by a new source of funding stemming from the Council's capacity to carry out and market high-quality research on social and socio-economic issues. The contract entered into with the federal government in 1992 gave the Council the additional funding it required through undertaking research for the federal government and various non-government agencies.

Appendix 4 gives a sketch of the Council's financial record extending from the early 1960s to 1995. The table has many limitations, notably that it is not cast in constant dollars and that it neither indicates a breakdown of the sources of revenue nor of the items of expenditure. By showing the levels of revenue and expenditure, however, it accounts for the recurring instances when the Council had to cut back on existing and planned parts of its program with resulting reductions in staff.

The Council's financial vulnerability led farsighted Board members and others, beginning in 1983, to establish and support the Life and Legacy Fund, designed to offer creditors and staff some assurance that the Council could weather financial crises and, if forced to terminate, meet its wind-up and severance obligations.

In the future, the Council must face the reality of reduced grants from all levels of government. Increased reliance will be upon individual and corporate memberships and donations from individuals, socially committed organizations and foundations. To no less a degree, the Council's future will demand its continued ability to extend and market its research and other services, including its publications. Its endeavours in the mid-1990s demonstrate that it is taking steps to ensure a solvent future.

Responding to social change

The intent of this postscript is to restate, and emphasize, a point that has been made throughout this historical review, namely, that the past 75 years of Canadian history, and indeed of world history, have called upon organizations like the Council to respond to unending changes in the political, economic and social circumstances of individuals, institutions and whole societies. How the Council responded has been described at many points in the review. Though touched on only lightly, the three changes of the name of the organization in the Whitton era attested to the Council's capacity for progressive adaptation to embrace broader mandates.

The focus of what had become the Canadian Welfare Council required recognition and acceptance of the transformation of Canadian society during the Second World War and the political, social and economic imperatives of the postwar world. That the Council made the transformation and provided remarkable leadership during the next quarter century must be attributed to many members of the Board and staff, and especially, in its initial phase, to George Davidson. It was Davidson who convinced the Council to reject Charlotte Whitton's view of where to find "the dawn of ampler life" and to adopt the Marsh and Cassidy blueprints for comprehensive nationwide social security.

The Dick Davis era carried forward the Marsh-Cassidy approach to Canadian social policy. The historical record supports the observation that these 17 years constituted a Golden Age in the life of the Council, particularly if they are evaluated in terms of the Council's influence on the development of the Canadian version of the welfare state.

The Baetz period, described as one of transformation and transition, witnessed the turbulence of the emerging post-industrial society, the separating of components of the Council through the formation of specialized agencies, and other major changes represented by the adoption of the Council's new name: the Canadian

Council on Social Development. The enhanced importance assigned to research in the transformed Council represented a trend destined to come to full fruition in the early 1990s.

The adaptive capacity of the Council from the late 1970s to the early 1990s was tested through an unending procession of attacks on income security and welfare services, and a gradual diminution of the commitment to social equity through income redistribution to assist the socially and economically disadvantaged and maintain a functioning middle class. The Council's responses to the dismantling of Canada's social programs and the erosion of support from its traditional constituencies were at least twofold. One was expressed in the determination to continue to develop sound social policy positions and to forcefully advocate their adoption by governments. The second was to accept the reality of diminishing financial support, to sell off Council property, capitalize on its enhanced research capability and develop an internal structure that will carry it forward creatively through the final years of the 20th century and into the 21st.

Having demonstrated its capacity to survive and grow through 75 years of constant challenges, the prospect that the Council will be serving Canada with distinction a hundred years from its founding seems a reasonable expectation.

Twelve

Epilogue

The role of an epilogue is to reveal the "extended present" and what it portends for the near future. History and the past are more than prologue, however; they indicate how and sometimes why we acted the way we did, and therefore help us predict how we might behave in the future. The Social Services Congress of 1914, motivated by the Social Gospel movement and the inability of the non-governmental sector in the previous 20 years to respond adequately to social need, was the putative parent of the Council which would eventually become the CCSD. The agenda of the Council in the 1930s and 1940s was shaped by the Depression, and by writers who viewed the country as a whole and the needs of its citizens unrestricted by provincial boundaries, particular disabilities or ethnic definitions.

Such writings as *Social Security for Canada* (Marsh) in the early 1940s and the federal government response in the *Rowell-Sirois Report* at the end of the 1930s identified the

incapacities of the voluntary sector and the need for government intervention. The Marsh report Canadianized the *Beveridge Report* and Prime Minister Mackenzie King was able to realize some of his goals outlined in 1919. Although there were books and studies that focussed on specific problems in the next two decades, it wasn't until the *Canada Assistance Act* and the *Canada Health Act* of the mid-60s that we had a pan-Canadian social program approach to social need. And we had to wait until 1985, when the Charter of Rights and Freedoms was to be implemented, for another Canada-wide coverage, now based on rights, rather than exclusively on needs.

Mention of these sources may properly belong in the prologue, but I repeat them here to identify the sequences for a prospective view. The present lack of vision for Canada and the absence of a literature that captures our collective imagination, also affects the kinds of audience the CCSD might expect for its Canadian perspectives. It is not in fashion in the late 1980s and 1990s to be concerned with new and more effective social programs. The programs that are enacted are driven by financial considerations and motivated by the punishment of victims rather than their rehabilitation. Conservatism accompanied by the oxymoronic prefixes "progressive" or "neo" has replaced collective responsibility with fiscal accountability. Nationalism has never been a strong element of the Canadian psyche, pulled as it is by provincial authority (given through the *British North America Act*), regionalism and separatism. It is further weakened by NAFTA, the Americanization of social attitudes and the erosion or disappearance of the federal presence in social programs (as with CHST, the health and social transfer, in the mid-90s).

Governments have shifted in the past 75 years from focussing on universal social services converted to social security and social welfare, to a brief fling with social caring and social targeting, to a disregard for society. By withdrawing grant and core support from national advocacy groups, governments have weakened the capacity of the non-governmental sector to respond to cuts and holes in

the social safety net inflicted by the government, thus freeing governments to exact an even greater dismemberment of the social fabric.

The fortunes of the CCSD over the past decade are indicative of the fate awaiting, or already being experienced by, the non-governmental social sector as a whole. The role of general social policy concerns has been largely replaced by groups focussed on single issues and interests. "Who cares for everybody cares for nobody," is the cry of the special pleaders. The public's attention seems more easily drawn to categories or special conditions. The promotion of causes which are narrow, and therefore presumably clearer and easier to grasp, more readily capture the public's imagination and support. What has been diminished in this is the CCSD's role in placing the problems and needs of Canadian society in a larger framework and wider perspective, even though the necessity for that role has become more crucial than ever.

Without federal standards to direct the provinces, the voluntary sectors become the only watchdogs of the criteria for administering social programs. But the CCSD, as an advocate for national standards, cannot look forward to a very supportive period as we enter the next millennium. The provinces have preceded the federal government in cutting back social supports, and now, with the CHST, have become the substitute guardians of the public good. The irony is that there is a conservative demand for a return to "charity" as the best means to meet social needs as well as a return to family values and the responsibility for caring for one's own.

Perhaps new coalitions will gain popular acceptance. Until they are formed, however, and perhaps for some time after, there will be a continued need for the CCSD and others like it. For one cannot be assured that the generic representative Council will be

reestablished in the form we know it. There are organizational partners who can assist in presenting the realities of complex and interrelated issues to the Canadian government and the public. These may be union-based, politically inspired, professionally affiliated, environment oriented, civil rights advocates, First Nations councils, or involved with the disabled, because of their broad represention of anti-poverty or status of women or ethno-cultural groups. Some of these groups may not be as loosely affiliated or as generically concerned as the CCSD.

The peculiar virtue of loose affiliation is that CCSD supporters are not necessarily co-sufferers or sharers of a common fate because of class or gender or other distinction. Their concerns are disinterested on the one hand, and passionate as to principle on the other. They engage in special pleading on behalf of all Canadians, and social need is interrelated and is not to be disentangled from social policy. Looseness has its problems in that it is difficult to persuade the public and governments that the CCSD is sufficiently representative of Canada's needs, because of the composition of its Board and membership. For example, the low profile of "victims"—of visible and invisible minorities—as Board members conveys non-representativeness. Social policy that is broad-based seems to run against the special interest focus of most groups and the "simple solution" approaches prevalent today.

The history of cooperation among these partners is far newer than the older history from which we can draw. Social agencies once developed councils at local, provincial and federal levels. Councils of social agencies and welfare councils were largely led by the providers of services. These councils were replaced by social planning and social development councils, which had wider concerns and conceptually more complex explanations and solutions for meeting needs.

These newer councils shifted the balance from being led by service providers to volunteers who were not accountable to individual agencies or groups but to the public as a whole, at each

level of social or political organization. In the future, we may see new realignments from among those who are, or are related to, the victims of social deprivation and other forms of disability. In the 1970s and 1980s, the CCSD itself was successful in participating in several special-cause coalitions: the anti-poverty groups of the early 1970s and later; the coalitions formed to protect the *Canada Health Act*, housing and low-cost rentals; and others noted in this book.

In one instance, the CCSD sought to maintain its role in administering the Court Challenges Program, which it began in 1986, while providing broad representation on panels on equality and language rights. However, the government of the time subsequently decided to move the Program to the University of Ottawa, and then to cancel it. After being restored by the next government to be elected, the Program was assigned to an independent agency. These moves would suggest a reluctance by governments to express a commitment to the views or value of "generic" agencies which are perceived as representative of all. Governments appear to prefer distributing their grants and support to politically responsive groups and those that convey the impression of reaching into the corners of Canada. The blanket has been replaced by the patch.

It is difficult to see clearly whether interest groups and categorically focussed organizations can or will coalesce into new councils and make long-lasting coalitions. The political and economic circumstances of the next several years may create the necessity for such cooperative efforts. However, competitiveness may prevent such collaboration.

This epilogue seems to herald a return to beginnings and presages a reconvening of a new ecumenical congress to readdress the lessons learned at the turn of the last millennium. Canada will need a reaffirmed nationalism that emphasizes citizenship for all, a revivalist social gospel that is not only religiously fundamentalist to inspire us, and a revived social conscience that reestablishes

universal coverage as proof of our social solidarity. A renewed CCSD may be one of the few social instruments capable of convening and applying rational and socially concerned thinking to social needs and human rights.

Ralph Garber
Dean Emeritus
University of Toronto

Endnotes

1. A major source of data on the Council throughout this history are the periodical publications of the Council, beginning with the *Canadian Child Welfare News*. This journal began publication in 1924, changed its name to *Child and Family Welfare* in May 1930, then to *The Canadian Summary* in May 1938 and to *Canadian Welfare* in January 1941. It continued with that name until September 1977, when it became *Perception: A Canadian Journal of Social Comment*. The annual reports of the Council, even though they have appeared in many formats with varying degrees of information on the work of the Council, offer its most complete record. A more extensive study would draw on the very large collection of the Council's records in the Public Archives of Canada.
2. *Annual Reports*, Social Service Council of Canada, 1908-1938.
3. Wallace, Elizabeth. "The Origin of the Welfare State in Canada, 1867-1900," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, August 1950.

4. The statement actually lived on beyond the Whitton era, disappearing only in the April 1945 issue of *Canadian Welfare*. Since 1935, it had read "The Canadian Welfare Council was founded in Ottawa, in 1920, as the result of a National Conference of Child Welfare Workers, convened by the Child Welfare Division, Dominion Department of Health."
5. P. T. Rooke and R. L. Schnell, *No Bleeding Heart: Charlotte Whitton, A Feminist on the Right*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987, p. 22.
6. Ibid., p. 88.
7. Ibid., p. 71.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., p. 89.
10. Ibid., p. 90.
11. Charlotte Whitton's influence on provincial mother's allowance programs, on which she was asked to advise in a number of provinces, merits a separate study. It would reveal that she favoured restricted coverage and benefits.
12. Rooke and Schnell, op. cit., p. 105.
13. The Whitton Papers in the Public Archives of Canada contain extensive correspondence on the efforts made to prevent Charlotte Whitton's departure from the Council from being explosive and divisive.
14. Sir William Beveridge, *Social Insurance and Allied Services*. New York: Macmillan, 1942, American ed.
15. Leonard C. Marsh, *Report on Social Security for Canada*. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1943.
16. John J. Heagerty, *Report on the Advisory Committee on Health Insurance*. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1943.
17. Harry M. Cassidy, *Social Security and Reconstruction in Canada*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1943.
18. Charlotte Whitton, *The Dawn of Ampler Life: Some Aids to Social Security*. Toronto: MacMillan, 1943.
19. F. N. Stapleford, Honorary President, CWC, *Canadian Welfare*, December 1944, p. 10.

20. Harry M. Cassidy, *Canadian Welfare*, June 1945, pp. 2-6, 30-34.
21. Ibid., p. 34.
22. During and following the years that Dick Davis was involved, the Couchiching Conferences were held annually at Geneva Park, Lake Couchiching, Ontario, under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of Public Affairs. Founded by the YMCA in 1932, they attracted wide public attention during the Depression, the Second World War and and the immediate postwar period.
23. James Struthers, "Shadows from the Thirties: The Federal Government and Unemployment Assistance, 1941-1956," in Jacqueline S. Ismael, *The Canadian Welfare State* (University of Alberta Press, Edmonton, 1987).
24. Ibid., p. 20.
25. Rodney Haddow, "Class Interest, State Structure and Social Marginality; Poverty Policy in Canada," Canadian Political Science Association, 60th Annual Meeting (Windsor, Ontario, June 11, 1988).
26. Interview, October 26, 1988, with Dr. George Hougham (Director of Research, CWC 1958 to 1963).
27. *Canadian Welfare*, January/February 1963, p. 38.
28. Linda McQuaig, *Behind Closed Doors*. Markham (Ontario): Penguin Books, 1988, p. 153.
29. Eric Trist, *The Relation of Welfare and Development in the Transition to Post-Industrialism*. Los Angeles: University of California, Western Management Science Institute, Socio-Technical Systems Division, n.d.
30. Canadian Welfare Council, *Report of the Commission on Functions and Organization*. Ottawa: CWC, February 1969.
31. Reuben C. Baetz, brief presented to the Commons Committee on Labour, Manpower and Immigration on proposed amendments to the *Unemployment Insurance Act*, Ottawa, November 20, 1975, p. 3.
32. Ibid.

33. Marc Lalonde, "Address to the Canadian Conference on Social Development, Toronto, June 15, 1976" (Health and Welfare Canada, Ottawa).
34. CCSD, *Annual Report, 1977*, p. 1.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., p. 2.
37. *A New Perspective on the Health of Canadians* was a widely distributed 76-page document issued by Marc Lalonde, Minister of National Health and Welfare, in 1974. It constituted a new approach to health and its determinants, emphasizing lifestyle factors such as alcohol and drug addiction, smoking, overeating, dangerous driving, lack of exercise and promiscuity.
38. The Fraser Institute describes itself as "an independent Canadian economic and social research and educational organization." It is based in Vancouver and has established a reputation for neo-conservative views that are highly critical of the social programs of the welfare state.
39. The term "demogrant" has been used extensively by Canadian writers on social policy, but has not made its way into most dictionaries. The *Social Work Dictionary*, 1991, published by the National Association of Social Workers of the United States, defines a demogrant as "a benefit provided to those in specified population categories (for example, children, mothers, older people) without regard to need." Canadian writers have referred to demogrants as being free of tests of need, means or income. Accordingly, as governments have begun to impose such tests with regard to family allowances and old age security, those programs have lost their initial identification as demogrants.
40. The Council has never ceased to seek means to improve the condition of children. Collaboration with other agencies through yet another device, the Charter of Children's Rights, was in harmony with the contemporary emphasis on entrenching rights in the Constitution. That goal was not achievable, but the concept may have been important in various later

endeavours, including those being made in connection with the Canada Health and Social Transfer measure that came into effect in 1996.

41. Internal memorandum, May 17, 1991.
42. Published in 1983 by the CCSD in association with James Lorimer & Company, Toronto. In autographing a copy for Richard Splane, Patrick Johnston said, "If this book serves its purpose, its sequel won't have to be written."
43. *Program Audit and Review Report* (PARD), 1991, p. 8.
44. CCSD Board minutes, June 20, 1993.
45. CCSD Executive Committee minutes, September 18, 1993.
46. CCSD, communiqué on the *Submission to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Human Resources*, October 28, 1994, p. 1.
47. CCSD, *Submission to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Human Resources*, October 28, 1994, p. 2.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., p. 6.
50. CCSD, *Submission to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Finance*, 1994, p. 3.
51. CCSD, *Social Policy Beyond the Budget*, February 1995, p. 1.
52. Ibid., p. 2.
53. David Ross, "From the Executive Director," CCSD *Annual Report*, 1994-1995, p. 2.
54. Charles Birchall, letter to Roundtable participants, October 23, 1995.
55. Because of the way the names appear in the Council's records, some names are preceded by initials and others by "Mrs." rather than the more customary first name.

Appendix 1A

Canadian Welfare Council
Board of Governors, Executive, and Advisory Committee
1939-40

Under the Distinguished Patronage of
Their Excellencies the Governor General and The Lady Tweedsmuir
The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, P.C., C.M.G., The Prime Minister of Canada
The Hon. R. J. Manion, P.C., M.D., M.C., Leader of the Opposition

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Hon. Charles McCrea, K.C., Toronto
Mr. James A. Richardson, Winnipeg
Mr. F. N. Stapleford, Toronto
Mrs. Charles Thorburn, O.B.E., Ottawa
Mr. Kenneth Wilson, Toronto

Governors Representing Technical Services

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	Chairman	Dr. J. Fenton Argue, Ottawa
	Vice-Chairman	Dr. Stephen Langevin, Montreal
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	Vice-Chairman	Miss Mary McPhedran, Vancouver
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	Chairman	Miss Nell Wark, Galt, Ont.
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Chairman of Property Committee	Mr. F. W. Berry, Ottawa

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	Mr. Samuel Bronfman, Montreal

Appendix 1B

Members of the Board of Governors, 1959-1960

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James Cowan, Toronto
George L. Crawford, Calgary
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Etienne Crevier, Montreal
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Mervyn Davis, Vancouver
L. G. DesBrisay, Moncton
Monteath Douglas, Montreal
Raymond Dupuis, Montreal
H. S. Farquhar, Halifax
Rev. A. L. Farris, Toronto
Senator Muriel Fergusson, Fredericton
W. Preston Gilbride, Toronto
Mrs. W. H. Gilleland, Ottawa
Félix Guibert, Montreal
Eric Hardy, Toronto
Conrad F. Harrington, Toronto
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Leonard D. Headley, Montreal
Charles E. Hendry, Toronto
Yves Jasmin, Montreal
Joseph Jeffery, London
Sol Kanee, Winnipeg
Hugh L. Kennleyside, Victoria
Mrs. W. Ross Kerr, Toronto
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Stanley H. Knowles, Ottawa
Walter C. Koerner, Vancouver
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Lawrence E. Laybourne, Toronto
Dr. J. D. Leishman, Regina
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H. M. Morrow, Toronto
A. R. Mosher, Ottawa
G. H. Parliament, Ottawa
C. A. Patrick, Winnipeg
Gérard Pelletier, Montreal
W. H. Pettigrew, Edmonton
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Horace Racine, Ottawa
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Mrs. D. L. Ross, Montreal
Mrs. J. M. Rudel, Westmount
Gilles Sarault, Quebec
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S. Rocksborough Smith, Vancouver
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Cecil Usher, Montreal
J. S. White, Regina
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Kenneth L. Young, Toronto
Charles H. Young, Montreal

Appendix 1C

Members of the Board of Governors, 1989-1990

Guy Adam, Ottawa
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Kenneth Barter, Charlottetown
Leslie (Les) Batterson, Windsor
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S. E. Blakely, Calgary
George Brown, Thornhill
Wm. McMillin Carson, Hamilton
Catherine Casserly, Ottawa
Maurice Charlebois, Montreal
Catherine Charlton, Toronto
Madeleine Delaney-Leblanc, Fredericton
Donalda Ford, Regina
Georgio Gaudet, Fredericton
Ruth Goldbloom, Halifax
Jérôme Guay, Quebec
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Wendy Paquette, Halifax
George Penna, Richmond Hill
France Picard, Montreal
Monique Simard, Montreal
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Mira Spivak, Ottawa
Richard Splane, Vancouver
Robert Tremblay, Actonvale
Anne Usher, Montreal
Alison Van Duzer, Hamilton

Appendix 2

Presidents of the Council, 1920-1995

Name	Community	Term
Mrs. W. E. Todd	Orillia	1920-1921
J. Arthur McBride	Montreal	1921-1923
A. P. Paget	Winnipeg	1923-1924
Mrs. Ella M. Thorburn	Ottawa	1924-1931
J. Fred Davey	Ottawa	1931-1934
Charles Morse	Ottawa	1934-1936
John T. Hackett	Montreal	1936-1937
F. N. Stapleford	Toronto	1937-1940
Philip S. Fisher	Montreal	1940-1949
Mrs. W. Kaspar Fraser	Toronto	1949-1952
J.-M. Guérard	Quebec City	1952-1953
Lawrence Freiman	Ottawa	1953-1955
J. Wallace McCutcheon	Toronto	1955-1957
W. Preston Gilbride	Toronto	1958-1959
Lucien Massé	Hull	1960-1961
Kenneth LeM. Carter	Toronto	1961-1963
B. M. Alexandor	Ottawa	1963-1967
Félix Guibert	Montreal	1967-1969
Charles E. Hendry	Toronto	1969-1972
Mrs. W. M. Benidickson	Ottawa	1972-1975
Jean Séguin	Montreal	1975-1977
J. Harvey Perry	Toronto	1977-1979
Claude Garcia	Montreal	1979-1980
Mavis Hurley	Fredericton	1980-1983
Michael Clague	Vancouver	1983-1985
Ralph Garber	Toronto	1985-1987
Anne Usher	Montreal	1987-1989
Linton J. Smith	Regina	1989-1991
Jean Panet-Raymond	Montreal	1991-1993
Sharon Manson Singer	Vancouver	1993-1995
Charles Birchall	Toronto	1995-

Note: The listing of the communities in which the Presidents resided reveals that nine were from Toronto, eight from Montreal, six from Ottawa, two from Vancouver, and one each from Orillia, Quebec City, Hull, Fredericton, Winnipeg and Regina.

Appendix 3

Canadian Council on Social Development

Executive Heads, 1920 - 1995

Charlotte Whitton					
Honourary Secretary, CCSW	October	1920	-	December	1925
Executive Director, CCSW	January	1926	-	April	1930
Executive Director, CCCFW	May	1930	-	November	1935
Executive Director, CWC	December	1935	-	December	1941
Mrs. G. Cameron Parker					
Acting Executive Director, CWC	January	1942	-	March	1942
George F. Davidson					
Executive Director, CWC	April	1942	-	December	1944
Nora Lea					
Acting Executive Director, CWC	January	1945	-	December	1945
Richard E. G. Davis					
Executive Director, CWC	January	1946	-	December	1963
Reuben C. Baetz					
Executive Director, CWC & CCSD	January	1964	-	May	1977
Agnes Benidickson					
Interim Executive Director, CCSD	June	1977	-	December	1977
Pierre Bourdon					
Executive Director, CCSD	January	1978	-	March	1980*
Terrance M. Hunsley					
Executive Director, CCSD	October	1980	-	September	1990
Valerie Sims					
Acting Executive Director, CCSD	October	1990	-	July	1991
Patrick Johnston					
Executive Director, CCSD	August	1991	-	February	1994
David Ross					
Executive Director, CCSD	March	1994	-		

* Following the resignation of Pierre Bourdon, the senior managerial role was carried by Charles Chamard of the management consulting firm engaged to conduct the search for a successor.

Appendix 4

Financial Data

Year	Revenue	Expenditure
1964-65	$ 508.353	$ 504.161
1965-66	683.839	635.389
1966-67	796.751	769.990
1967-68	934.016	912.340
1968-69	978.448	969.479
1969-70	905.916	902.452
1970-71	979.553	995.846
1971-72	1.137.711	1.108.578
1972-73	866.435	859.813
1973-74	948.723	911.656
1974-75	1.217.802	1.182.760
1975-76	1.171.967	1.144.774
1976-77	1.189.194	1.165.235
1977-78	1.121.132	1.281.795
1978-79	1.005.480	1.156.853
1979-80	1.046.009	1.015.852
1980-81	1.036.787	1.280.386
1981-82	1.161.192	1.143.476
1982-83	1.429.535	1.393.240
1983-84	1.318.014	1.339.632
1984-85	1.387.703	1.390.913
1985-86	1.874.648	1.723.899
1986-87	2.708.474	2.669.243
1987-88	3.232.165	3.076.048
1988-89	3.646.319	3.523.790
1989-90	3.857.116	3.832.352
1990-91	2.766.978	2.979.476
1991-92	2.242.099	2.635.128
1992-93	2.152.933	2.168.398
1993-94	1.816.735	1.786.175
1994-95	1.816.626	1.901.167

Appendix 5

The Canadian Council on Social Development

Mission Statement

The Canadian Council on Social Development is a voluntary, non-profit organization whose mission is to:

Develop and promote progressive social policies inspired by social justice, equality and the empowerment of individuals and communities through research, consultation, public education and advocacy.

We believe in:

- the right to economic security and an adequate standard of living for all;
- universal access to basic social and health programs;
- public participation in improving social conditions;
- a fair and compassionate society, with equal rights for all.

Approved, 1991

The years between1920 and 1995 have been among the most turbulent in world history. Over those years global trends and events have been reflected in dramatic transformations in Canadian society. And for 75 years, "the Council" has demonstrated its capacity to adapt to new social environments. Its record of community service extends for more than half of Canada's life as a nation.

This concise history of the Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD) details the range, depth and quality of accumulated knowledge and experience that today's Council brings to its work. It will be an invaluable source of information for students and teachers, the public at large, the Council's current and past members, funding bodies, and the organizations with which it collaborates in pursuit of its social policy goals.

There is *no one* in Canada who understands more about Canadian social policy history and the CCSD's place in it than Dr. Richard Splane. For almost 50 years, he has had thorough and close connections with the Council: as a senior public official involved in the development of the Canada Assistance Plan and the National Welfare Grants program; as a professor of social policy and a member of numerous professional and social service agencies; and as a member of the Council's Board of Governors and Vice President for British Columbia/Yukon.

Richard Splane, MA, MSW, PhD, LLD, is Professor Emeritus at the University of British Columbia. He has studied economics, history and social work at the London School of Economics, McMaster University and the University of Toronto. He is a prolific author in many areas of social policy and development.

Preface by Dr. James Struthers, noted Canadian historian and Professor of History at Trent University.

Epilogue by Dr. Ralph Garber, Dean Emeritus at the University of Toronto, President of the International Association of Schools of Social Work, and a Past-president of the CCSD.